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For *ascending*, p. 19, line 11, read *ascendency*.
 For p. 29, foot-note p. 21, read p. 33.

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THE STAGE IN THE ATTIC THEATRE
OF THE 5TH CENTURY
B. C.

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*A Thesis presented at the University of Minnesota
as a part of the work done for the degree
of Doctor of Philosophy*

BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE PRINCIPAL THOUGHT in this thesis is contained in the third chapter, and it is this: that in the Greek theatre of the fifth century B. C. both actors and chorus stood in the orchestra. In establishing the truth of this thought the chorus is at all times a prominent element. It is, in fact, in great measure, the conduct of the chorus, and the relation that it sustains to the actors, that determine whether the actors as well as the chorus stood in the orchestra. It has seemed fitting, therefore, to devote the first chapter to tracing the development of the chorus from prehistoric times up to the time when it became an important element in the drama, and to devote the second chapter to describing the external characteristics of the chorus.

Many statements are made in the first chapter without reference to the authorities whence they are derived. It may suffice to state here that the works that have been consulted and read in writing this chapter are the following:

Homer: Iliad, Odyssey, Hymn to Apollo.
Hesiod: Works and Days, Shield of Hercules.
Herodotus: *Historiæ*.
Aristotle: Problems, *Ars Poetica*.
Catullus: *Carmina*.
Muller: History Literature of Greece.
Mure: History Literature of Greece.
Mahaffy: History Literature of Greece.
Grote: History of Greece.
Smith: History of Greece.
Jebb: Classical Greek Poetry.
Moulton: The Ancient Classical Drama.
Walford: Hand-book of the Greek Drama.
Haigh: The Attic Theatre.

In writing the second and third chapters there have been consulted and read, besides some of the works named above, the following works:

Æschylus: Suppliants, Persæ, Seven Against Thebes, Prometheus Vincetus, Agamemnon, Chæphori, Eumenides.
Sophocles: Ajax, Antigone, Electra, Œdipus Tyrannus, Œdipus Coloneus, Philoctetes, Trachiniæ.

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Euripides: *Alcestis*, *Medea*, *Hippolytus*, *Andromache*, *Heracleidae*, *Suppliants*, *Hecuba*, *Hercules Furens*, *Ion*, *Troades*, *Helena*, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, *Electra*, *Orestes*, *Phœnissæ*, *Iphigenia in Aulis*, *Bacchæ*, *Rhesus*, *Cyclops*.

Aristophanes: *Acharnians*, *Knights*, *Clouds*, *Wasps*, *Peace*, *Birds*, *Lysistrata*, *Thesmophoriazusæ*, *Frogs*, *Ecclesiazusæ*, *Plutus*.

Xenophon: *Institutio Cyri*, *Hiero*.

Pindar: *Carmina*.

Pausanias: *Descriptio Græciæ*.

Pollux: *Onomasticon*.

Plato: *Symposium*, *Gorgias*.

Aristotle: *Politics*, *Metaphysics*,

Plutarch: *Vitæ*.

Lysias: *Orations*.

Æschines: *Orations*.

Antiphon: *Orations*.

Demosthenes: *Meidias*, *Philippic I*.

Diodorus Siculus: *Bibliothecæ Hitoricæ*.

Dubner: *Scholia in Aristophanen*.

Horace: *Ars Poetica*.

Muff: *Chorische Technik des Sophocles*.

Richter: *Die altgriechische Tragodie und das altgriechische Theaterwesen*.

Schultze: *De Chori Græcorum Tragici Habitu Externo*.

Alberti: *De Æschyli Choro Supplicum*.

Capps: *'The Greek Stage'*, *Transactions American Philological Association*, 1892.

Pickard: *'The Relative Positions of Actors and Chorus'*, *American Journal Philology*, April, July, October, 1893.

White: *"The 'Stage' in A. istophanes"*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, 1891.

Haigh: *'Dr. Dorpfeld's Theory About the Logeion in Greek Theatres'*, *Classical Review*, May 1890.

Miss Harrison: *'Dr. Dorpfeld on the Greek Theatre'*, *Classical Review*, May, 1890.

Verrall: *'Haigh's Attic Theatre'*, *Classical Review*, May, 1890.

Muller: *Eumenides*.

Harrison and Verrall: *Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Greece*.

Shakespeare: *Antony and Cleopatra*, *Macbeth*, *Titus Andronicus*, *Hamlet*.

There had been consulted, also, in the course of the work done before writing this thesis, the following works:

Bergk: *Anthologia Lyrica*.

Mahaffy: *Social Life in Greece*.

Gladstone: *Time and Place of Homer*.

Symonds: *Greek Poets*.

Tyler: *Theology of the Greek Poets*.

- Schmidt: Rhythmic and Metric.
Miss Swanwick: Poets the Interpreters of their Age.
Heren: Researches in Ancient Greece.
Bœck: Public Economy of Athens.
Geddes: The Problem of the Homeric Poems.
Guhl and Koner: The Life of the Greeks and Romans.
Murray: Manual of Mythology.
Curtius: History of Greece.
Whitney: Oriental and Linguistic Studies.
Muller: Chips from a German Workshop.

There is given on page 7 an outline table of contents of the three chapters. Immediately before each chapter is given a detailed table of contents of that chapter, and at the close of the thesis is given a combined table of contents of the three chapters.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I: GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORUS

§1. The Divisions of Greek Poetry	13
§2. Singing by Individuals in Homer	14
§3. Early Meanings of the Word <i>Choros</i>	15
§4. Choral Exercises in Homer and in Hesiod	15
§5. The Divisions of Lyric Poetry	22
§6. The Cultivation of Greek Music	23
§7. Choral Exercises of the Æolic School of Poets	24
§8. Choral Exercises of the Doric School of Poets	25
§9. The Worship of Dionysus	29
§10. The Dithyramb of Arion	32
§11. The Development of Tragedy from the Dithyramb	33
§12. The Further Development of Tragedy	34
§13. The Subsequent Cultivation of the Dithyramb, and of Lyric Poetry	37

CHAPTER II: THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHORUS

§1. The Number of the Choreutæ	40
§2. The Position of the Choreutæ	45
§3. The Names of the Choreutæ	52
§4. A Secondary Chorus	54
§5. The Choregus	55
§6. The Delivery of the Choral Parts	60
§7. The Costume of the Choreutæ	65

CHAPTER III: THE STAGE

§1. Alleged Evidence in Favor of a Stage	70
§2. The Thymele	81
§3. The Steps; the Distegia	88
§4. Archaeological Investigations	90
§5. Evidence Against a Stage from the Extant Plays	94
§6. Evidence Against a Stage from Certain Facts Con- nected with the Entrance of Actors and of Cho- ruses	132
§7. Summary of Chapter III	145
§8. The Mistakes of Vitruvius	148

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORUS

CONTENTS

§1. The Divisions of Greek Poetry:

§2. Singing by Individuals in Homer:

- The Song of Calypso.
- The Song of Circe.
- The Song of Achilles.
- Character of these songs.

§3. Early Meanings of the Word *χορός*:

- χορός* signifying place.
- χορός* where the idea of dancing is prominent.
- Adornment at the dance.
- χορός* transferred to the dancer.

§4. Choral Exercises in Homer and in Hesiod:

THE PÆAN: Sung when in Homer.

- The Pæan in Iliad I.
- The Pæan in Iliad XXII.
- No dancing in the Homeric Pæan.
- The Pæan in later times.
- Metrical form of the Homeric Pæan.

THE THRENOS: Defined.

Early cultivation of the Threnos.

The Linus-song:

- The three characters of Linus.
- An extant Linus-song.
- Connected with the death of the seasons.
- Hesiod says concerning the Linus-song.
- The Linus-song in Homer.
- Characteristics of.

The Threnos in the Iliad.

Characteristics of.

- The Threnos in the Odyssey.
- Metrical form of the Threnos.
- Later history of the Threnos.

THE HYMENÆUS: The Hymenæus in the Iliad.

The Hymenæus in Hesiod.

The Hymenæus in later writers.

THE HYPORCHEME: The Hyporcheme in the Iliad.

The Hyporcheme in the Hymn Apol.

The Hyporcheme in the Odyssey.

The Hyporcheme defined.

Popularity of the Hyporcheme.

Its antiquity.

Its chief characteristics.

PARTHENIA IN HOMER.

The instance in the Iliad.

RESPONSIVE SINGING IN THE ILIAD.

SUMMARY OF CHORAL FORMS IN HOMER AND IN HESIOD.

§5. The Divisions of Lyric Poetry:

Lyric poetry includes only melic.
 The elegiac and the iambic called $\epsilon\pi\gamma$.
 Melic poetry divided into two schools.
 The distinctions between them.

§6. The Cultivation of Greek Music:

The tetrachord.
 Terpander.
 Olympus.
 Thaletas.

§7. Choral Exercises of the Æolic School of Poets:

SAPPHO: Songs for a single voice.
 Songs for choruses.
 ANACREON: His character.
 His songs for choruses.
 ALCÆUS: No choral poetry.

§8. Choral Exercises of the Doric School of Poets:

Further development of the chorus.
 THE STROPHE: In choral poetry.
 Its origin.
 In elegiac poetry.
 The melic; the Doric.
 Melic strophe described.
 The Doric strophe described.
 The epode.
 Origin of anti-strophic recital.
 ALCMAN: His contemporaries.
 His predecessors.
 His excellence.
 He celebrated secular occasions.
 His parthenia.
 Features of his chorus.
 His other compositions for choruses.
 His metres.
 Remaining choral poets not at Sparta.
 STESICHORUS: His originality.
 Size of his chorus.
 The epode.
 His epico-lyric hymns.
 IBYCUS: He belongs to two schools.
 His love songs.
 These produced on what occasions.
 Remaining masters of choral poetry:
 Add no new elements.
 The hymn of Stesichorus.
 Lyric poets compose for pay.
 Bacchylides.
 Pindar.
 Timocreon.

§9. The Worship of Dionysus:

A new kind of poetry needed.
 Why the dithyramb was popular.

- §9. The Worship of Dionysus (Concluded):
 Why the dithyramb was capable of dramatic development:
 (1) Opportunities for forming plots.
 (2) Opportunities for assuming characters.
- §10. The Dithyramb of Arion:
 Cultivated at Corinth.
 Arion's chorus.
 The *ἑστῆς χορὸς*.
 The musical accompaniment.
 The size of the chorus.
- §11. The Development of Tragedy from the Dithyramb:
 The extension of the part of the *ἑστῆς χορὸς*.
 The extension of subjects.
 The dithyramb at Athens becomes tragedy.
 The final step the addition of the actor.
- §12. The Further Development of Tragedy:
 The chorus of Thespis.
 The chorus of Phrynichus.
 The chorus of Chœrilus.
 Pratinas and the satyr-drama.
 Characteristics of the satyr-drama.
 ÆSCHYLUS: Shortened the choral odes.
 Added a second actor.
 SOPHOCLES: Added a third actor.
 Shortened the choral odes.
 EURIPIDES: Shortened the choral odes.
 Decline of the chorus as a living element.
 The ideal chorus.
- §13. The Subsequent Cultivation of the Dithyramb, and of Lyric Poetry:
 The dithyramb continued in Doric states.
 The 'Attic' dithyramb.
 The decline of lyric poetry.

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORUS

§1 THE DIVISIONS OF GREEK POETRY

It is customary to divide the poetry of the Greeks into three classes, the Epic, the Lyric, the Dramatic. Under the second of these classes is included all the poetry of the lyre whether a mournful elegy of Mimnermus or an enthusiastic dithyramb of Arion, all poetry, in fact, that is neither epic nor dramatic. It is necessary, however, to emphasize the fact that the lyric poetry did not suddenly arise at the time when the epic had lived its day, when no longer poets were found of originality sufficient to compose epic poems that satisfied the people, and when weak imitations of the old masters were the only epic poems produced. At this time the people began to cultivate lyric poetry, but this kind of poetry existed, and in a state of considerable development, at the time when the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* were composed. The drama, the chief elements of which are dialogue and choral songs, was the culmination of Greek poetry. It will be admitted that in the epic poetry there is an abundance of dialogue, and it will be shown that the choral element exists there, and in many of the forms that it had in ages subsequent to that of Homer. Furthermore, the dramatic element is prominent in the *Iliad*. In the first book, the quarrel scene between Agamemnon and Achilles is as dramatic as is any scene in the plays of the tragedians of the fifth century. The dramatic instinct of the Greeks, then, appears in their epic poetry; dialogue is found there, and instances will be pointed out where the choral element is prominent in the epic poetry. It is evident, then, that the drama was a combination of different kinds of poetry that had existed since prehistoric days.

§2 SINGING BY INDIVIDUALS IN HOMER

In the *Odyssey*, when Hermes arrives at the island of Calypso, on the mission of liberating Ulysses, he finds Calypso singing with 'beautiful voice.'¹ The queen is thus beguiling the hours, as she labors at the loom.

In a similar manner, when Ulysses approaches the cave of Circe, he finds her within singing beautifully, as she plies the loom.²

In the *Iliad*, the Embassadors to the tent of Achilles find that prince seated on the ground singing the 'glorious deeds of men' to the accompaniment of a clear-toned harp.³

What was the character of the singing on these three occasions we have no information; yet it is safe to infer that in the first two instances it did not materially differ from that of many of the songs of Sappho or Alcæus. The songs of Calypso and of Circe are not to be considered the direct forerunners of the Lesbian school of poetry, but may serve as illustrations of the fact that this school did not create a new kind of poetry, but merely developed a kind of poetry that already existed. The singing of Achilles was doubtless of a more serious kind. It can hardly be supposed that a fierce warrior was singing a song of the Sapphic school. The greater elaborateness of his song is seen in the fact that he sang with a musical accompaniment. Among the earliest kinds of lyric poetry to be cultivated in the historic age is the iambic of Archilochus. We have a fragment left us of one of his poems addressed to his own soul,⁴ and it is by no means improbable that the Song of Achilles was an earlier example of this kind of poetry; not necessarily in the same metre as that of Archilochus, but merely a kind of poetry of the seriousness that was afterwards developed by men such as Archilochus, or the elder Simonides.

1 ε 61. ἡ δ' ἔνδον ἀνιδιάνουσα ὀπὶ καλῇ.

2 x 221. Κίρκευ δ' ἔνδον ἄκωνον ἀνιδιόουσας ὀπὶ καλῇ. 3 I 182-196.

4 My soul, my soul, careworn, bereft of rest, Arise! and front the foe with dauntless breast;—quoted in Sm. Hist. Gr., p. 129.

§3 EARLY MEANINGS OF THE WORD *χορός*

The word *χορός* in historic times signified a band of trained singers and dancers. The primary signification of the word has reference not to persons, but to place. The use of *χορός* in the primary sense occurs in the expression *λείπειν χορόν*,¹ 'to level the chorus', i. e., to make the *χορός* ready to dance upon; and in the expression *οὐ μὲν ἔστι χορόν κέλετ' ἐλλέμεν, ἀλλὰ μάχεσθαι*,² where Hector is said to call the Greeks not to the *χορός*, but to battle. The primary signification is seen also in the compound *εὐρύχορος*,³ an epithet applied to cities that have spacious squares, i. e., *χοροί*.

χορός
signifying place

χορός is, again, used in Homer where the notion of dancing is prominent. Thus, Alcinous says: *αἰεὶ δ' ἤμῃν δαῖς τε ψιλλῇ χιθαρῇ τε χοροὶ τε*,⁴ where *χοροὶ* has reference to dancing. Similarly, Hesiod says: *τοὶ δ' ἄνδρες ἐν ἀγλαΐαις τε χοροῖς*,⁵ where, again, the meaning of *χοροὶ* is dances.

χορός
where the idea
of dancing
is prominent

That at the dance there was considerable attempt at personal adornment, as well as gracefulness, on the part of the dancer may be inferred from the words of Venus in description of Paris after his combat with Menelaus:

Adornment
at the dance

οὐδὲ κε φαιῆς
ἀνδρὶ μαχησάμενον τόν γ' ἐλλεῖν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε
ἔρχεσθ', ἧς χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίξειν.⁶

The transfer of the word *χορός* from the place where the dancing occurred, or from the dancing itself, to the body of individuals that occupied the place, and performed the dancing, was an easy metaphor.

χορός
transferred
to the dancer

§4 CHORAL EXERCISES IN HOMER AND IN HESIOD

Whenever we have singing of many voices in unison or dancing by many to the accompaniment of music, we have a form of the chorus.

1 *θ* 260. 2 *θ* 508. 3 cf. *B* 498. 4 *θ* 248. 5 *Scut.* 272. 6 *I* 392 ff.

The Pæan in Homer may be taken as an instance of an elementary choral exercise. The Pæan was at all times in Greek history a song of joy. It was sung in Homer either in connection with a feast of expiation, or, as a joyful song, after a victory had been won.

In the former use, it is sung by the Achæans at the end of the sacrificial feast, after restoring Chryseis to her father:

The pæan
in *Iliad* I.

οἱ δὲ πανηγύριοι μόλπῃ θεὸν ἰλάσκοντο,
χαλδὼν ἀεΐδοντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
μέλποντες Ἐξάργον.¹

In the latter use, it was sung by the Greeks after the death of Hector, Achilles saying to the Greeks:

The pæan
in *Iliad* XXII

γὼν δ' ἄγ', ἀεΐδοντες παιήονα, κοῦροι Ἀχαιῶν,
νηρσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσι νεώρεσθα, τόνδε δ' ἄγωμεν.²

In neither of these instances, is there any mention of dancing; in the latter instance, the pæan is sung as the Greeks march back to the ships. Another example of the singing of the pæan by a moving body of men occurs where Apollo leads the Cretans to his shrine holding in his hands the lyre.³

In later times, the pæan was sung by an army when about to make an attack;⁴ in Homer, only after the attack had been made. In later times, the pæan was commonly sung at convivial meetings also, the poet Alcman composing pæans for such occasions;⁵ in Homer its use at convivial meetings is limited to feasts of expiation.

The pæan was first adapted to proper melic form by the Cretan Thaletas. Its metrical form in Homer can be inferred to have been the hexameter, because that was the only metre at that time sufficiently developed for an order of poetry so high as an ode to Apollo.

Metrical form
of the Homeric pæan

1 *A* 473ff. 2 *A* 391f. 3 Hymn to Apollo, Pyth. 336ff.
4 cf. e.g. Xen. Cyr., 4, 1, 6. 5 Frag. XI. Bergk.

The *Threnos* expresses a state of feelings directly the reverse of those expressed by the *pæan*. The word 'threnos' signifies a lament of any kind, but is commonly applied to the lament for the death of kindred or friends. Such being its meaning, we may expect to learn that it was cultivated at the earliest stages of civilization. It is here connected with the mythical hero, or demigod, *Linus*.

Definition
of the threnos

Early cultivation
of the threnos

This hero appears in three different characters, first as a beautiful boy who, before reaching manhood, met his death, usually said to have been at the hands of Apollo; he next appears as a minstrel who contended with Apollo, and was defeated and killed by him; in the third character, he appears as the song celebrating the youthful minstrel, and, in this capacity, he is the type of the order of threnos. The plaintive character of the *Linus-song* is attested by the full names of *Ἀλίνος* and *Θιτόλινος* which signify respectively, 'Alas Linus,' and 'Death of Linus.' An extant *Linus-song* is:

The three
characters
of Linus

ὦ Λίνε πᾶσιν θενῶσιν
τετιμένε, σὸι γὰρ ἔδωκαν
πρώτῳ μέλος ἀνθρώποισιν
φωναῖς λευγαῖς ἀεῖσιν
φωῖξος δὲ κότῳ σ' ἀναιρέϊ,
Μοῦσαι δὲ σε θρηγέουσιν.¹

An extant
Linus-song

Similar songs were sung in Ancient Greece, and especially in Asia Minor. It is evident from the mournful character of all these songs that they were connected with the death of certain seasons of the year, or with similar natural phenomena. It was an easy task for the Greek imagination to clothe these phenomena with personal forms, to represent them as divine or semi-divine beings.

Connected with
the death
of the seasons

Hesiod, in an extant fragment,² doubtless wishing to emphasize the ephemeral nature of all things earthly, says that the *Linus-song* should be sung at the beginning, and at the close of all festive meetings.

Hesiod says
concerning
the *Linus-song*

¹ Fragg. Lyr. p. 1297 Bergk. ² Cited in Eustathius, p. 1163 (Fragg. 1, ed. Gaisford.)

The Linus-song represented by Homer upon the Shield of Achilles is as follows:

The Linus-song
in Homer

τοῖσιν δ' ἐν μέσσοισιν πᾶσι φόρμιγγε λιγείῃ
ἱμερόεν κιθάριζε· λίον δ' ὑπὸ καλὸν ἄειδεν
λεπταλέῃ φωνῇ· τοὶ δὲ ῥήσσοντες ἀμαρτῇ
μολπῇ τ' ἰυγμῷ τε ποσὶ σκαίροντες ἔπυντο.¹

This may be taken to be one of the earliest forms of song, yet it is distinctly choral in its design. The boy sitting ἐν μέσσοισιν furnishes the music both vocal and instrumental. The chorus skip about (ποσὶ σκαίροντες), and utter shouts (ἰυγμῷ). In the word *μολπῇ* there is reference probably to dancing, not to singing. *μολπή* commonly refers to singing as opposed to dancing,² yet it is used also where there is reference only to graceful motion.³ In the Linus-song, *μολπῇ* probably has this latter meaning, and the chorus are thus represented as dancing gracefully (*μολπῇ ποσὶ σκαίροντες*), and uttering shouts (*ἰυγμῷ*). Whether these shouts had any connection with the singing of the boy there is nothing in the context to tell us, but it would seem improbable that such was the case.

A modification of the Linus-song is found in the threnos, a form of lament found in both the Iliad and the Odyssey.

At the rites performed over the body of Hector, after the body has been placed in position, the following exercise takes place:

The Threnos
in the Iliad

παρὰ δ' εἶσαν ἀοιδούς,
θρήνων ἐξάρχουσ, οὔτε στονόεσσαν ἀοιδῶν
οἱ μὲν ἄρ' ἐθρήνεον, ἐπὶ δὲ στενάχοντο γοναῖχες.⁴

There is here a step in advance of the primitive Linus-song. The lament has reached a state of development where the dirge is first sung by professional singers (θρήνων ἐξάρχουσ), and, while they are

Its characteristics

¹ Σ 569ff. ² *μολπῇ τ' ὀρχηστὺς*, α 152; cf. also:

μολπῆς τε γλυκερῆς καὶ ἀμύμονος ὀρχηθμοῖο. N 637.

³ αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ σίτου τάρφθεν δμῳαί τε καὶ αὐτῇ,
σφαιρῇ τὰ τ' ἄρ' ἔπαιζον, ἀπὸ κρήδεμνα βάλουσαι.
τῇσι δὲ Νηυσὶν ἀλευκώλενα σῆρχετο μολπῆς. ζ 99ff.

⁴ Ω 720ff.

speaking, the assembled mourners join in the action so far as to add their sighs.

The threnos at the burial of Achilles as described in the *Odyssey*¹ is a still more elaborate exercise. There the Nereids form the chorus of mourners, and the threnos is led by the nine Muses. The metrical form of the threnos, as of the pæan, was probably the hexameter. An extension of its metrical forms was made as the lyric art was developed, probably by the Phrygian Olympus.

The Threnos
in the *Odyssey*

Metrical form
of the Threnos

During a great part of the time of the ascending of lyric poetry we hear nothing of the threnos; yet that this form of poetry was at all times cultivated cannot be doubted; and we know that the last of the lyric poets, Pindar, devoted some of his time to the threnos, and that the threnoi of his younger contemporary, Simonides, were among that poet's greatest productions.

Later history
of the Threnos

The *Hymenæus* is described by Homer in his picture of the shield of Achilles.² The bride is being conducted to the home of her husband; many a bridal song is raised as the youthful dancers wheel around amid the sound of pipes and lyres.

The Hymenæus
in the *Iliad*

The description by Hesiod³ of a similar scene is more elaborate. The city is given over to festivities and dances: the bride is being conducted to her future home preceded by maidens with torches, and followed by two choruses, one with pipes, the other with lyres. There is an advance here over the choral exercise exhibited in the threnos. In the latter, the chorus accompany their dance only with sighs, while in the hymenæus the choruses accompany their dances with instrumental music.

The Hymenæus
in Hesiod

The hymenæus is found, in later times, among the works of Alcman. Sappho left an entire book of hymenæa, which were written in hexameter, and were intended to be sung by choruses of young men and women.⁴

The Hymenæus
in later writers

1 *o* 58ff. 2 *Y* 490-495. 3 *Scut.*, 270-280. 4 Cf. p. 24f. below.

The *Hyporcheme* is mentioned in the *Iliad*, in the description of the shield of Achilles.¹ Here are dancing youths, and gaily-attired maidens holding one another by the wrist. At times they dance nimbly around; at other times they dance in rows opposite to one another. Within the chorus sits the singer with the $\phi\acute{o\rho\mu\epsilon\gamma\tilde{\epsilon}$ and two tumblers ($\chi\upsilon\beta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\tilde{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$).

The Hyporcheme
in the *Iliad*

In one of the Homeric hymns,² there is a similar scene. Here the chorus is composed of ten goddesses as dancers; Ares and Hermes are the tumblers, and Apollo plays on the cithara. In the *Odyssey*,³ at the home of Menelaus, two dancers ($\chi\upsilon\beta\iota\sigma\tau\eta\tau\tilde{\eta}\rho\epsilon\varsigma$) wheel around to the music of the $\phi\acute{o\rho\mu\epsilon\gamma\tilde{\epsilon}$.

The Hyporcheme
in the Hymn
to Apollo

The Hyporcheme
in the *Odyssey*

These dances fully correspond to the definition of a hyporcheme, which is a choral dance in which the action described by the singer is represented with mimic gesture by individuals that come from the body of the chorus for this purpose.

The hyporcheme
defined

The hyporcheme was popular during every age of Greece, and is at the present day performed in various parts of Greece at popular festivals. Thaletas is said to have composed hyporchemes; they were composed also by Bacchylides, Simonides the younger, and by Pindar. They occur also in the works of the dramatists, as, *e. g.*, the ode to Pan in the *Philoctetes*, and the closing ode in the *Lysistrata*.

The popularity
of the hyporcheme

The antiquity of the hyporcheme is seen in the fact that Homer, in describing it, says that it is like unto that dance which, in wide Gnosus, Dædalus contrived for fair-haired Ariadne.⁴ Whether we are to understand these words literally, and believe that the dance described on the shield of Achilles was patterned after a similar dance in Crete, or are to understand Dædalus to be the eponymous genius of all Greece, the fact is clear that at the time of Homer, the hyporcheme was an old form of dance.

The antiquity
of the hyporcheme

1 Σ 590ff. 2 *Apol. Pyth.*, 10-26. 3 δ 17ff. 4 Σ 490-495.

The chief characteristic of the hyporcheme was its mimetic character; this feature existed to a greater or less degree in all dancing, but in the hyporcheme more than in any other kind. The love of imitation, then, of *μίμησις*, which is so prominent a characteristic in the last class of Greek poetry, the drama, is seen to be already existing, in this prehistoric hyporcheme.

Its chief
characteristic

Parthenia, a form of poetry that was extensively cultivated by the melic poets from Alcman to Pindar, are seen to have been in use at the time of Homer. In the *Iliad* is reference to such a dance in honor of Diana:

Parthenia
in Homer

ὄψ' ὅθ' αὖθις ἰδὼν μετὰ μελπομένησιν
ἐν χορῷ Ἀρτέμιδος χρυσήλατόν, ἑλαιοθέον.¹

The instance
in the *Iliad*

Mention is made in Homer of a choral exercise that bears resemblance to that of the historic chorus when just passing into the drama.² At the close of the first book of the *Iliad*, at the feast of the gods on Olympus, the Muses are represented as singing responsively:

Responsive singing
in the *Iliad*

οὐδὲ τι θυρὸς ἐδέετο δαιτὸς ἑίσσης,
οὐδ' ἐν φόρμιγγος περικαλλέος, ἣν ἔχ' Ἀπόλλων,
Μουσάων θ', αἱ ἄεθ' ἄμειβόμεναι ὅππ' ἐχέει.³

Summary of choral forms in Homer and in Hesiod. It will be observed that in the choral exercises described in Homer and in Hesiod there is no sure instance of both singing and dancing by a stationary chorus. Thus in the pæan sung by the Achæans at the sacrificial feast in the first book of the *Iliad*, there is no reference to dancing. In the hymenæus, the bands of singers are in motion. In the *parthenia*, the choruses dance, but do not sing. In the hyporcheme, also, the chorus dance, but do not sing. In the *threnos*, Homer does not assign to the chorus any dancing, nor are the Muses at the close of the first book of the *Iliad* said to accompany their responsive singing with dance. Whether, in this instance, we should understand that

Summary
of Choral forms
in Homer
and in Hesiod

1 // 182f. 2 Cf. p. 29 below. 3 A 602ff.

the Muses accompanied their singing with some kind of gesture, and, in the threnos described in the *Iliad*, we should understand that the mourners accompanied their sighs with gesture, we have nothing to guide us in forming an opinion. If we consider that such was the case, we have examples in Homer of both singing and dancing by stationary choruses. The dithyramb, the choral song in honor of Dionysus, is not mentioned in either Homer or Hesiod; yet it is seen that nearly every kind of choral poetry that was developed in the historic ages of Greece existed at the time of the Homeric poems. All that the ages subsequent to Homer could do was to develop these elementary poems.

§5 THE DIVISIONS OF LYRIC POETRY

There is an interval of centuries between the time of the performance of the choral exercises that are mentioned by Homer, and that of the cultivation of the chorus of historic times. Lyric poetry may henceforth be understood to include only poetry that is called 'melic.' The distinctive feature of this poetry is its necessary accompaniment of music, and often of rhythmic movement. The elegiac and the iambic poetry are thus excluded, and may be classed, as they were by the Greeks of the fifth century B. C., under the head of *ἐπη*.

Melic poetry may be divided into two classes, that of the Æolic school of Lesbos, and that of the Doric choral poetry. These two schools of poetry differ in every essential respect. The former received its name from its being cultivated by the Æolians, and especially in the island of Lesbos. The latter received its name from the fact that it was first cultivated under Dorian influences, and in the Doric Peloponnesus and Sicily, though subsequently it flourished in all parts of Greece. The dialect of the former school is the Æolic, that of the latter is the Doric, or the Epic in which Doric forms are mingled. The former school is secular, and is devoted to personal interests; the latter is often religious, and is public. The former school is, in general,

intended to be sung by a single voice; the latter is intended for many voices.

As melic poetry was so intimately connected with music, it is only to be expected that the time of its first cultivation should be coeval with that of the improvement of the art of music.

§6 THE CULTIVATION OF GREEK MUSIC

The foundation of Greek music was the tetrachord. This sufficed as an accompaniment of the heroic minstrel, as it sufficed, also, for the elegiac and the iambic poets, at least early in their history. But it is evident that such an instrument would have proved but a meagre accompaniment of an elaborate choral ode.

The tetrachord

The founder of Greek music was Terpander (676 B. C.), the Lesbian, who reduced to a system the different modes of singing that then prevailed. His system, though in succeeding ages it was improved, was not materially departed from. His chief glory consists in his having increased the number of strings of the lyre to seven. Nearly contemporary with Terpander was Olympus, whose contribution to the development of music was the improvement of the flute. Thaletas (620) of Crete marks the third epoch in the cultivation of Greek music.

Terpander

Olympus

Thaletas

His work was to carry forward the improvements made by Terpander; and like him he made his home at Sparta, the city that was then the musical centre of the whole world. Chiefly to these three men, Terpander, Olympus and Thaletas, is due the credit of bringing music to the high state of development that was not surpassed in the time of Pindar. Aided by the improvements made in music, toward the close of the seventh century B. C., melic poetry starts on a course of cultivation, and within a century and a half from that time reaches its highest state of development.

§7 CHORAL EXERCISES OF THE ÆOLIC SCHOOL OF POETS

At the head of the Æolic school stands Sappho, whose poetic activity extended from about 610 B. C. to about 570 B. C. Her poetry, in general, like that of the other representatives of this school was intended to be sung by a single voice. It is, however, well known that during her life-time there were choruses in Lesbos; accordingly, we are not surprised to find that she wrote poetry for choral representation. This is certainly the case with her marriage songs. The hymenæus of Sappho from which the poem of Catullus 62 was imitated, was sung by choruses of men and women. In this poem, as in the imitation of Catullus, the two choruses advance to meet each other, the one chorus reproaching, the other praising, the evening star because he led the bride to the groom. Numerous other fragments of the hymenæals of Sappho remain, all of which are characterized by the intensity of feeling that is the leading feature in all of her works.

Anacreon, though an Ionian, of the Island of Teos, must be classed as a member of the Æolic school, because of the nature of his poetry. He was essentially an 'idle singer of an empty day,' whose only sorrow was for the approach of 'ἀργαλέον γῆρας', a sorrow that had caused unhappiness to poets and heroes as far back as the time of Homer. Anacreon had the bent of mind of Sappho without any of her intensity; and Anacreon, too, wrote for choral exercises, for some at least of his poems were sung by choruses of women at nocturnal festivals.

There is no evidence that Alcæus, the remaining representative of the Æolic school, composed for choruses.

Sappho

Songs

for a single voice

Songs

for choruses

Anacreon—

His character

His songs

for choruses

Alcæus—

No choral poetry

§8 CHORAL EXERCISES OF THE DORIC SCHOOL OF POETS

Turning to the other division of melic poetry, the Doric choral poetry, we shall be able to trace the development of the chorus to the time when it becomes an element in the drama through a succession of steps in which there will be no break.

Further develop-
ment of the chorus

A distinguishing characteristic of this kind of poetry is the complicated, and often artificial, structure of its strophe. The origin of the strophe is doubtless coeval with that of lyric poetry. It is essential, in singing, that the voice be allowed to rest at intervals. We need not doubt that when Achilles was found by the visiting chiefs, in the ninth book of the Iliad, singing to the accompaniment of the lyre, he divided his song into strophes.

The strophe
in choral poetry

Origin
of the strophe

In later times, the elegiac distich serves as an illustration of the strophe, as the voice rests at the close of every other verse.

The strophe
in elegiac poetry

In a narrower sense, the term strophe is confined to two varieties, the Melic and the Doric. The chief characteristic of the former is its brevity, the usual number of verses in the strophe being four, the last of which is commonly catalectic.

The Melic strophe
described

The Doric strophe is much more complicated than is the Melic. The number of verses is not limited to four, and, with the increase in number of verses, there is a corresponding increase in complexity of rhythmic form. To understand these rhythmic forms, the ear frequently needed the aid of the eye, and so the science of orchestric was required. The climax of this class of strophe was reached when the epode was added. As the strophe and its corresponding antistrophe were sung by the chorus in motion, so the epode was sung by the chorus standing in its original position.

The Doric strophe
described

The Epode

It need not be doubted that the origin of antistrophic, as well as of strophic, recital can be referred to prehistoric times. In the responsive recital of the Muses on Mt. Olympus, as narrated at the close

Origin of anti-
strophic recital

of the first book of the *Iliad*, is seen the germ of the complicated strophe and antistrophe of the most highly cultivated choruses.

Alcman, the Lydian, represents a period of progress in the development of choral poetry. While Mimnermus is singing his elegies, Sappho her love-poems, and Solon his elegiac and iambic poems, Alcman has left his home in Asia Minor, and, like those other poets who were summoned to Sparta in the seventh century B. C., has come to that city and is devoting his genius to the service of Dorian masters.

Alcman is for us the first of the choral poets; his predecessors, Terpander, Thaletas, Polymnestus, were proficient in the training of choruses, in adding new rhythmical action, and especially in composing music for their choruses; but Alcman was all this, and also a poet. His compositions were afterward read and enjoyed by those that had not witnessed their public recital. The words of his predecessors were subordinated to the music; with Alcman this relation was reversed.

Terpander, Thaletas and Polymnestus had composed for only religious exercises; Alcman devoted most of his genius to the celebration of secular occasions.

Parthenia were an especial favorite with Alcman. The term 'parthenia' may be applied to two different kinds of composition. It may be used to denote songs executed by choruses of maidens in honor of certain gods: in this sense they are sacred songs. In the other sense, parthenia denote songs in honor of certain maidens: in this sense they are secular. Alcman devoted his genius to both these classes of parthenia, but chiefly to the secular class. The parthenia of Bacchylides, Simonides, and Pindar were exclusively of the sacred order.

The chorus of Alcman differed in an essential respect from that of Pindar in that with the former poet the chorus did not become the organ of the poet ex-

The contemporaries of Alcman

The predecessors of Alcman

Alcman's superiority

He celebrated secular occasions

Alcman's parthenia

Features of Alcman's choruses

pressing only the thoughts of the poet. This feature, except in a very few instances, was an invariable characteristic of the chorus of Pindar. In the choruses of Alcman, the maidens often speak in their own persons, and not unfrequently a lyric dialogue is carried on between the poet, who was the chorus-leader, and the chorus.

Besides parthenia, Alcman composed hymns to the gods, a hymn to Castor and Pollux, pæans, and hymenæals, as well as erotic songs. Of these, the last class was sung by a single person, the others were sung by choruses.

His other
compositions
for choruses

The metres of Alcman show a step in advance of those of his predecessor, Terpander; of this latter poet about twenty verses are extant, all in hexameter or heavy spondaic metres, which are appropriate for his nomes. On the other hand, the varied style of Alcman's compositions required a more varied metre; yet they are much less complicated than are the metres of the later lyric poets.

His metres

Alcman and his predecessors made their homes at Sparta. Henceforth, the cultivators of choral poetry live in various parts of the Dorian confederacy, and none of them have any connection with Sparta.

Remaining
choral poets
not at Sparta

Stesichorus flourished at about 650 B. C. His originality led him in a path totally different from that of Alcman. We find in his productions all the elements of the most highly developed choral poetry. The chorus of Alcman was a popular chorus; that of Stesichorus was limited in size, and consisted of combinations of several rows, with eight dancers in each. The great accomplishment of Stesichorus was the addition of the epode.

The originality
of Stesichorus

His chorus limited
in size

The epode

The debt of Stesichorus to the epic was great. In metre, he varied but little from the hexameter; in dialect, he used the Epic with but a slight tinge of Doric; so, also, in subject-matter, he was largely

The epic lyric
hymns
of Stesichorus

indebted to the Epic. Stesichorus lived in an age when the Epic was becoming vapid; accordingly, people were losing their taste for it; yet they still wished to bring into their worship of the present the legends of the past. The whole tendency of the age was toward the cultivation of lyric poetry. The originality of Stesichorus was displayed in uniting these two kinds of poetry. He adapted the heroic legends to a lyric treatment, composing for the great national festivals of Sicily hymns the subjects of which covered the whole circle of Epic tradition.¹

Ibycus
of Rhegium

He belongs to
two schools

Anacreon, and the love poems are perhaps due to this latter poet's influence.

Anacreon composed love-songs for recital to the accompaniment of a lyre of twenty strings without a chorus. These similar songs of Ibycus were always for a chorus. This fact is shown by the length of the strophes, and by the complex structure of the verses.

These love-songs were composed for the celebration of family festivals, or birth-days, or for similar occasions, at which times the poet and his chorus took their positions near the houses of the persons celebrated.

The remaining masters of choral poetry added no new elements; they merely perfected the elements that already existed, and extended this kind of poetry to all varieties of subjects.

Thus Simonides of Ceos, the most prolific of all the lyric poets, extended the choral hymn to celebrating contemporary men. Originally, the hymn had been devoted to the celebration of the gods; by

¹ Among the subjects of these hymns are: The Fall of Troy, Helena, and The Orcesteia.

Aleman it had been extended to demi-gods, as in his hymn to Castor and Pollux; Stesichorus had extended the hymn to celebrating the heroes, and to such hymns was his highest genius given; Simonides advanced a step further, and, in his famous epinikia, devoted the hymn to celebrating contemporary men.

Choral poetry has now completely triumphed over all other kinds of poetry. A lyric poet makes his home first in one city, then in another; and now for the first time he sells his genius for gold. Simonides took the initiative in this direction, and we find him now with Hiero at Syracuse, now with the Scopads in Thessaly, and, finally, at the court of Hipparchus at Athens, the younger contemporary at this last place of Anacreon and Lasus.

Lyric poets
compose
for money

Bacchylides, the nephew of Simonides, and his contemporary at the court of Hiero, devoted his choruses to lighter themes than did his uncle, dealing, in great measure, with love and wine.

The chorus
of Bacchylides

The lofty Pindar, 'the perfect lyric poet,' devoted the chorus to all uses save that of love. Of his compositions more remains than of any other lyric poet. His Epinikia are his most famous poems.

The chorus
of Pindar

In contrast with these later lyric poets stands Timocreon. He quarreled with Simonides, and his lampoons and satires, which in substance differed not at all from those of Hipponax or Archilochus, were put in the ponderous choral form; yet he differed from his contemporaries in this respect that while they wrote for pay, he, like the aristocratic poets of ages before him, spurned to sell his genius for money.

The chorus
of Timocreon

§9 THE WORSHIP OF DIONYSUS

It is evident that the poetry of Pindar and his contemporaries would not satisfy the hearts of the people of democratic Athens. The splendor of Pindar's art was high, but the occasions on which he used it were often trifling. Famed for the celebration of victories at the great national festivals, he just as freely celebrated a trivial victory, provided he was paid for doing so. This poetry

A new kind
of poetry needed

was in the hands of the aristocrats. It was composed for patrons, and for pay. Worship was paid the gods, not by the people themselves, but for them by professional singers.. The people, therefore, demanded a different kind of festival, one in which they could feel that they participated themselves.

This festival in which all could participate was furnished by the worship of the god Dionysus. The reasons why the worship of Dionysus was popular may be reduced to two, the enthusiasm connected with the god, and the fact that he was the wine-god. From the earliest times, the dithyramb was a joyous song, characterized by license in poetry and music; it was the turbulent song of the Greeks. At the time of Archilochus, it had obtained a position of some importance, for he says:

Why the dithyramb was popular

Ὡς Αἰωνόσου ἄνακτος χαλὸν ἐξάρξει μέλος

Ὅλ' οὐδ' αἰθέρ' αἰθέρον οὔ γὰρ συγκρατῶνθεϊς φρένας.¹

The pæan of Apollo was always solemn and stately; the pæan of Dionysus retained many of the oriental attributes that it had before entering Greece.

Why the drama was developed from the dithyramb

The dithyramb was the parent of the Attic drama. We can see in the dithyramb two features that rendered it capable of development

into the drama.

The worship of Dionysus was two-fold. It celebrated him as the god of wine; and, again, it was the form used to convey sympathy with the changing seasons of the year. The struggles of Dionysus were seen in the struggles that Nature makes as she breaks forth from the cold winter into the warm spring. For this reason, his festivals came in the months nearest to the shortest days of the year, the Rural Dionysia, the Lenæa, the Anthesteria, the Greater Dionysia coming in the months corresponding to our December, January, February, March, respectively. As the participants stood at these festivals around the altars, they thought that they actually saw the god, now dying, now successful, now put to flight, now returning victorious;

(1)
The dithyramb supplied opportunities for forming plots

¹ Frag. 72 Bergk.

and they all participated in the feelings of joy or sorrow, as the occasion demanded. In the course of time, as knowledge extended, this belief in the actual presence of the god vanished, yet the belief that Dionysus was an anthropomorphic being, and the sympathy for his sufferings remained. There was, in a sympathy like this, ample opportunity for constructing imagined methods of escape of the god from death, ample opportunity for constructing plots; and it was from the dithyramb that sang of these escapes of Dionysus that tragedy was developed. It evidently could not have been developed from the dithyramb that sang of the joys of the god; and this belief is confirmed by the tradition recorded by Herodotus,¹ that in Sicily, Cleisthenes transferred back to Dionysus, as to one to whom they were due, tragic choruses that had been sung celebrating the sorrows of Adrastus. We see, then, in the worship of Dionysus, opportunity for forming plots.

The remaining element in the Dionysiac worship that made it capable of development into the drama is seen in the forms assumed by the participants at the festivals. This was caused by their desire to approach as close as possible to the gods with whom they sympathized. As he was a nature-god, it was only natural for his sympathizers to appear as far as possible in the forms in which nature appears. They therefore assumed the guise of Satyrs, Nymphs, Panes. They put goat-skins around their loins, they colored their bodies with juices of various plants, and put masks upon their faces. Thus they were more like their god in form, and, accordingly, nearer to him in sympathy. The festival, thus, afforded opportunity for assuming various characters. The worship of Dionysus, then, contained the two elements that made it capable of development into the drama, (1) occasions for forming plots; (2) occasions for assuming characters.

(2)
The dithyramb
supplies opportunities for assuming characters.

¹ Herod. v. 67 :

τὰ πάθεα αὐτοῦ τραγικοῖσι χοροῖσι ἐγέραιρον, τὸν μὲν Διόνυσον αὐτὸν τιμῶντες, τὸν δὲ Ἀδραστον. Κλεισθένης δὲ χοροὺς μὲν τῷ Διονύσῳ ἀπέδωκε.

The force of ἀπέδωκε should be observed.

§10 THE DITHYRAMB OF ARION

Arion was the first to produce a choral performance of the dithyramb. The worship of Dionysus was especially popular at Lesbos, the home of Arion; accordingly, when he came to the wealthy city of Corinth, during the reign of the tyrant Periander, he devoted himself to the cultivation of the form of worship with which he had been so long in sympathy.

Arion cultivated
the dithyramb
at Corinth.

Arion made his improvements in the dithyramb at about the beginning of the sixth century B. C., more than half a century before Thespis (535 B. C.) introduced an actor, thereby converting the tragic dithyramb into tragedy. The chorus of Arion was called 'circular,' which indicates that the satyrs performed their dances in a circle around the burning altar. This circular form was retained till the time of Thespis, who arranged the chorus in the form of a rectangle. The choral dithyramb of Arion was not so boisterous and licentious as was the dithyramb upon which he built, but honored Dionysus in a more solemn manner, the worship resembling the dignified choral worship of Apollo. Arion is said to have invented for his dithyrambic chorus a new kind of dance, which corresponded to the solemn dance, the *ἐμπύκνια*, of tragedy.

The characteris-
tics of Arion's
chorus.

The dithyramb as arranged by Arion was under the charge of a leader (*ἐξάρχων*) whose duty it was to superintend the choral dances, and to take a distinct part himself, which was to sing odes in praise of the god, his part being introduced merely for the purpose of relieving the dancers. It need not be doubted that these songs of the exarchon were the only parts of the dithyramb that had any considerable artistic merit. The musical accompaniment was of two kinds: for the ruder dances it was the flute, which was the instrument originally used at the boisterous satyr-dances; for the accompaniment of the more refined words of the exarchon the lyre was used. Arion was, in fact, the most distinguished cithara-player of his time.

The duties of
the *ἐξάρχων*

The musical
accompaniment

Thus far, in its course of development, had the dithyramb advanced in the time of Arion. It was a comparatively solemn body of men, reciting verses,¹ singing antistrophically,² and was under the leadership of an exarchon, who himself sang in the celebration of the god. Of how many men the chorus consisted we have no direct information. Simonides refers to a dithyramb of his own that consisted of a chorus of fifty men. Whether this number dated from the time of Arion is a matter of conjecture.

The size
of the dithy-
rambic chorus

§11 THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRAGEDY FROM THE DITHYRAMB

Aristotle says that tragedy derived its origin from the exarchon of the dithyrambic chorus, that after many changes tragedy assumed the form that it has in Æschylus and his successors.³ The dithyramb of Arion is but a choral exercise, which is relieved at intervals by the songs of its leader. The first of the changes referred to by Aristotle may be considered to be an extension of the part taken by the leader. Instead of singing a few words in praise of the god, he recited a longer passage, narrating some trial that the god had undergone. He would even assume the character of the god. These passages became longer and more important, the leader at times addressing the chorus, and bringing forth some special feature in the trials of the god that the chorus in its following ode could illustrate. The brief extent of these interruptions of the leader as compared with the songs of the satyrs may be seen by the name that was given to them. They are called 'episodes,' a name that they retain in the fully developed drama, and which means the same as our word 'parentheses'.

The first step
is the extension
of the part
of the exarchon.

The next step was the celebrating of the sorrows of persons other than Dionysus, and this was but the revival of a custom that had been practiced at Sicyon, and had been discontinued by Cleisthenes. This was an important step. As long as the festival confined itself to celebrating the sorrows of this one god, the opportunity for forming plots was limited; but

The second step
is the extension
of the subjects.

1 Aristot., Poet. IV. 2 Aristot., Problem. XIX:15. 3 Poet. IV.

when the whole range of mythology was thrown open from which to draw the subjects of the exercises, the opportunity for forming plots was indefinitely extended. Though the trials of Dionysus were abandoned for those of heroes of mythology, the festival was always a part of the worship of the god of wine.

The dithyramb has been brought to the time of Thespis.

The dithyramb
at Athens
becomes tragedy

It has been developed thus far on Doric soil. In Athens, on Ionian soil, it becomes tragedy. This event is associated with the name of Thespis, who came to Athens from Icaria at about the year 535 B. C. The dithyramb at this time was popular at Athens, though it had not in that state reached the stage of cultivation that it had reached in the Doric states; it contained more of the wild orgiastic rites that originally attended it. Peisistratus, in his desire to lift up the common people, lent his aid to the development of this popular form of worship.

The service of Thespis was to add to the chorus of satyrs an actor who was distinct from the chorus, and who took the part that had previously been taken by the exarchon; and this act of Thespis converts the dithyramb into tragedy.

The final step is
the addition
of an actor.

§12 THE FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF TRAGEDY

Our information concerning Thespis is limited, as it is also concerning the tragic poets that come between him and Æschylus. It would appear that in some of the plays of Thespis the chorus assumed the forms of satyrs, while in other plays the chorus appeared as men.

The chorus
of Thespis.

With Phrynichus this last fact became a regular feature, his chorus assuming the character that was most in sympathy with the action of the play, thus, *e. g.*, if the play was the 'Capture of Miletus', the chorus appeared as citizens of Miletus.

The chorus
of Phrynichus.

Chœrilus.

A contemporary of Phrynichus was Chœrilus, of whom about all we know is to be gained from the verse, 'Πνίκα μὲν βασιλεὺς ἦν Χοῖριλος ἐν σα-

χοροῖς'. From this we may infer that Chærilus was famed for composing tragedies in which the chorus consisted of satyrs, a practice that had probably been by Thespis in part superseded by that of presenting a chorus of men. It would appear that this latter practice rapidly grew in favor, and, with it, the custom of making the whole exercise more calm and dignified. This we may infer from the complaint that at about this time arose among the people, 'οὐδέν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον,' which apparently indicated the discontent of the common people with the practice of substituting the chorus of men for the chorus of satyrs. This discontent was respected by the poet Pratinas, who is said to have brought forth the satyr-drama as a permanent feature of the festival; and from this time it was the custom for a poet to present three tragedies in which the chorus was composed of men, and one in which the chorus was composed of satyrs, all four tragedies being connected in subject.

His chorus.

Pratinas and
the satyr-drama

The satyr-drama has been described as a sportive tragedy. The subjects of this kind of tragedy were drawn from the same source as were the subjects of the regular tragedy, but they were treated in a manner more suited to the presence of satyrs. Any wild, striking adventure was suited to the satyric tragedy; any scenes drawn from rude nature were especially appropriate. The adventures of Hercules were frequently depicted, and in the only extant satyr-drama, the Cyclops of Euripides, the chief characters are Ulysses and the savage Cyclops, the scene being laid in front of the rustic cave of the Cyclops.

Characteristics of
the satyr-drama.

We come now to Æschylus, who is the real founder of tragedy. The productions of his predecessors had been hardly more than choral exercises. The part taken by the actor had been entirely subordinate. The tragedies of Phrynichus are said by Aristophanes to be 'exceedingly sweet', and, as songs of such a char-

Æschylus.

acter, they were popular at the time of the great comedian.¹

Shortened
the choral-odes.

Æschylus shortened the parts of the chorus, yet in his *Supplikes* the part of the chorus is three-fifths of the whole play. In the other plays of Æschylus, except the *Prometheus*, the choral parts are about one-half of the whole composition. The great change that Æschylus made in the external characteristics of tragedy was the introduction of a second actor.

Added
a second actor.

Sophocles added a third actor. The tragedies of Æschylus were presented in tetralogies. Sophocles increased the vital action in the individual plays by setting the example of acting his tragedies each as a separate whole. He further diminished the length of the choral parts. These vary, in the plays of Sophocles, from about one-fourth of the whole play, in the *Ajax*, to about one-seventh of the whole, in the *Antigone*.

Sophocles added
a third actor.

Shortened
the choral odes.

Euripides could add nothing to the external features of tragedy. The important changes that he effected were all internal; yet he reduced still further the lengths of the choral parts. They vary in his plays from about one-fourth of the whole, in the *Bacchæ*, to about one-ninth of the whole, in the *Orestes*.

Euripides
shortened
the choral odes.

Before the time of Æschylus, the chorus had been practically everything. Its action was the chief part of the exercise; but, from the time of Æschylus, the chorus steadily declined in importance. The decline in amount assigned to it has already been noted; but there was another, and a still more important, aspect of its decline. This aspect has to do with its importance as a living element in the play. The *Supplikes* of Æschylus takes its name from the suppliant maidens, and the whole interest in the play centers in the fate of the maiden choreutæ. In the *Prometheus*, on the other hand, the choreutæ share the fate of the rebellious

Decline of the
chorus as
a living element.

1 Aristoph., *Av.* 748ff; *Vesp.* 219ff.

Titan, yet the interest in the play centers around him, not around them. The object of a chorus such as this one seems to be to comment on the course of events and to relieve the action by choral odes that speak the sentiments of the poet, but that are connected with the main action. This is the type of chorus seen in the later plays of Æschylus, and is the type seen in Sophocles. Tragedy is now at its perfect development; this kind of chorus, therefore, may be considered the ideal chorus. By Euripides the decline in the importance of the chorus is carried a step beyond the position assigned to it by Sophocles and the later plays of Æschylus. In Euripides, the choral odes, far from invariably being connected with the subject-matter of the plays, often soar into mythology, at times having no connection at all with the matter in hand. It might almost be thought that Euripides had these choral odes stored away, and produced at the time the one that his fancy dictated. This separation of the chorus may have been one cause of the lack of success of Euripides, and may help to explain why he gained but five victories in a life-time in which he is reported to have composed nearly a hundred tragedies. This separation of the chorus is carried still further by the tragedians of the fourth century, especially by Agathon and Ion. Under these poets, the choral odes were confessedly for the purpose of relieving the stress on the actors of continuous action, and of supplying music, filling, in fact, exactly the position occupied by the orchestra in the theatre of the present day.

The
ideal chorus

§13 THE SUBSEQUENT CULTIVATION OF THE DITHYRAMB, AND OF LYRIC POETRY.

The dithyramb in the form that it had received from Arion continued for a long time to be sung in Doric states. For a short time after the innovations of Thespis, it continued in favor at Athens, but not later than the close of the sixth century B. C. As Thespis made the dithyramb into tragedy, so Lasus (503 B. C.), the teacher in music of Pindar, gave to the old dithyramb a new form, that was

The dithyramb
continued
in Doric states

The 'Attic'
dithyramb

familiarly called the 'Attic' dithyramb. In this form the chorus of satyrs was abandoned for a chorus of men, and the music was more highly cultivated, being described as wild and florid, toward the close of the fifth century B. C. degenerating into a type that received much censure from temporary critics. In the 'Attic' dithyramb, the subjects were frequently transferred from Dionysus to mythical heroes. Simonides is said to have composed a dithyramb entitled 'Memnon', and Pindar was a composer of similar dithyrambs. The fact that dithyrambic contests took place together with contests in tragedy and comedy is further indication of a considerable cultivation of the 'Attic' dithyramb.

After the rise of the drama, lyric poetry, as a separate branch, existed in but few forms. It is evident that the parthenia, which had been so popular on Doric soil, could find no place in Athens, where women were kept in an almost oriental seclusion; and the epinikia, which added such splendor to the national festivals in the latter half of the fifth century B. C., were abandoned, as Greece became torn with the strife of war. The chief duty of lyric poetry now is to supply an element in the drama.

The decline
of lyric poetry

CHAPTER II

THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHORUS

CONTENTS

§1 The Number of the Choreutae:

- The tragic chorus of fifteen: the comic chorus of twenty-four.
- Sophocles the first to use a tragic chorus of fifteen.
- The tragic chorus of fourteen.
- The tragic chorus of fifty.
- Was the innovation of Sophocles adopted by Aeschylus?
- The tragic chorus of forty-eight.
- The changes in the size of the chorus.

§2 The Position of the Choreutae:

- At its entrance the chorus presented its left side to the spectators.
- The entrance sometimes by the eastern parodos.
- The parts of the chorus.
- The entrance called *κατὰ στίχους*, *κατὰ ζυγά*.
- Diagram of a chorus entering *κατὰ στίχους*.
- Diagram of a chorus entering *κατὰ ζυγά*.
- The *κατὰ στίχους* formation common.
- Position of the chorus after reaching the orchestra.
- Position of the left file when the chorus entered by the eastern parodos.
- Position of the chorus during the dialogue, and during the stasima.
- Exit of the chorus at the close of, and during the play.
- Lines in the orchestra.
- Πρυτάνεις*; *δευτέραι*.
- Position of the coryphæus in a chorus of fifteen.
- Position of the coryphæus in a chorus of twelve.

§3 The names of the Choreutæ:

- Their names derived from their positions.
- The titles of the coryphæus.
- The choregus as coryphæus.
- The poet as trainer; the choregus, the *ὑποδάσκαλος*, as coryphæus.
- The skill of the choreutæ varied in different files.

§4 A Secondary Chorus.

- Παραχορηγίαι*; *παρασκήναι*.
- Passages in which occurs the word *παραχορηγίαι*.
- Examples of *παραχορηγίαι*, and of *παρασκήναι*.

§5 The Choregus:

- The appointment of the choregus.
- The duties of the choregus.
- The expenses of the choregus.

§5 The Choregus (Continued):

Minor details concerning the choregus.
The decline of the choregia.

§6 The Delivery of the Choral Parts:

The parodoi.
The stasima.
Shorter songs of the whole chorus,
Words spoken by the coryphaeus.
Commoi.
The delivery of the words in certain doubtful instances.
The parabasis.

§7 The Costume of the Choreutæ;

The costume of the choreutæ in tragedy.
The costume of the choreutæ in comedy.
The costume of the choreutæ in the satyric drama.

§1 THE NUMBER OF THE CHOREUTÆ

Our knowledge of the size of the tragic and the comic chorus is derived primarily from the statements of ancient writers. The scholiast to Æschylus' *Eumenides* (585) says: *τοῦτο οὐ πρὸς τρεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸν χορὸν, ἐξ γὰρ ἦσαν*. The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Equites* (589) says: *συνεστήκει δὲ ὁ χορὸς [ὁ μὲν κομικὸς] ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρῶν ἡδὴ καὶ γυναικῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παίδων, [χθ * * * ὁ δὲ τραγικὸς ἐξ, ὡς Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνων].* The scholiast to the *Aves* (297) says: *ὁ δὲ τραγικὸς ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ἐκ παίδων, [χθ * * * ὁ δὲ κομικὸς ἐξ, ὡς Αἰσχύλος Ἀγαμέμνων].* Pollux says:¹ *πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἦσαν ὁ χορὸς*. These statements show that the comic chorus consisted of twenty-four persons, the tragic of fifteen.

In two places, Sophocles is recorded as the first one to use a tragic chorus of fifteen. Suidas says:² *καὶ πρῶτος μὲν τὸν χορὸν ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα εἰσήγαγε νέων, πρῶτερον δὲ οὐκ αὖτε ἐκ πεντεκαίδεκα εἰσάγωντων*; and in the *Vit. Soph.*³ occur the words: *αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ τοὺς χορευτάς ποιήσας ἀντὶ δώδεκα πεντεκαίδεκα καὶ τὸν τρίτον ὁποικιστὴν ἐξέδρε*. The evidence of these passages shows that the chorus of Æschylus consisted of twelve men, and that this number was increased by Sophocles to fifteen.

1 IV:108. 2 ν. Σοφοκλῆς. 3 p. 2 Dindf.

All authorities are agreed that the comic chorus consisted of twenty-four persons;¹ but, in three passages, it is asserted that the tragic chorus consisted of fourteen persons. These passages are: *χορὸς δὲ τῶν τραγωιδῶν συνίσταται ἐξ ἑνὸς ἀνδρῶν.*² *τῆς δὲ τραγωιδίας καὶ τοῦς σατυροῦς ἐπίσης μὲν ἔχουσιν χορευτάς ἑδ' ἡσὺς δὲ τραγικῶν χορευτὰς δεκατέττας.*³ It is stated, also, in the Vit. *Æs.* that the number of the choreutæ was fourteen. The evidence of these passages as tending to establish a tragic chorus of fourteen persons may be dismissed with the belief that this number does not include the coryphæus. The chorus of both tragedy and comedy, as it marched into the theater, was rectangular in form. Had the tragic chorus consisted of fourteen men, in order that it have a rectangular form, it would have been necessary that it be drawn up either two abreast and seven deep, or seven abreast and two deep. In neither of these forms would it have presented a pleasing appearance, as it marched in over the parodos. The chorus of fourteen members may, then, be considered to be the chorus without its leader.

Pollux says⁴ that the tragic chorus consisted of fifty men even to the time of the presentation of the *Eu-
menides*, that, on that occasion, the appearance of fifty *Erinyes* caused so much consternation on the part of the spectators that a law was passed reducing the number. This statement, especially as it is corroborated by no other writer, may be considered an error on the part of Pollux, and we may accept as true the statements already quoted from *Suidas* and the Vit. *Soph.* that *Sophocles* increased the size of the chorus of his predecessor from twelve to fifteen members. Even without the authority of these ancient writers, there is no difficulty in believing that *Sophocles* increased the number of the choreutæ. To the other improvements in tragedy that this poet made, such as presenting single plays instead of tetralogies, increasing the number of actors, and improving the scenic properties, it is easy to be-

Authorities giving
to the tragic
chorus 14
members.

Pollux speaks
of a tragic chorus
of 50 members.

¹ Cf. Poll. IV:109; Schol. Arist. Av. 297. ² Bekk. Anecd. p. 746.

³ Tzetzes, Prolegom. ad. Lycophron p. 254.

⁴ Schol. to Dionys. Thrac. Vilfoisio Anecd. II, p. 178. ⁵ IV:110.

lieve that he also increased the size of the chorus, thereby adding to the splendor of the singing and dancing, and making easier the division of the chorus into semi-choruses with their two leaders.

The question now arises whether the innovation of Sophocles was adopted by Æschylus, in his later plays.

Was the innovation of Sophocles adopted by Æschylus

It is impossible to answer this question with certainty. Alberti¹ maintains that even in the

Supplines of Æschylus the chorus consisted of fifteen members; and this belief is based, first, upon the fact that all the choral songs except the last one are composed of sets of either three or five strophes, and then upon the assumption that the songs composed of three strophes were sung by the choreutæ as composed of three *στροφῆς*, and those composed of five strophes were sung by the choreutæ as composed of five *στροφῆς*. Therefore, the argument is, there were fifteen choreutæ. But the objection to accepting this conclusion lies in the fact that there is no proof that the choral songs were sung as Alberti assumes. Muff² asserts that in the Eumenides and the Agamemnon alone Æschylus used a chorus of fifteen, and that Sophocles in the Ajax³, one of his earliest plays, used twelve choreutæ, not yet having introduced his innovation, and that in the Philoctetes⁴, one of his latest productions, he reverted to the smaller number, twelve. The opinion of Muff concerning the number of choreutæ in the Eumenides is shared by Muller.⁵ There are two scholia that bear upon this question.⁶ The scholium to the Eumen. (585) that asserts the chorus in that play to have been fifteen in number, Haigh⁷ is probably correct in thinking of no value, assuming that the scholiast was influenced by the knowledge of the size of the chorus in later times. The scholiast on Arist. Equit. (589) was no doubt, as Haigh⁷ believes influenced by the passage in the Agamemnon, 1344-1371. In this passage, the verses 1344, 1346, 1347 are written in trochaic metre; the verses 1348-1371 consist of twelve iambic couplets, and were, doubtless, spoken by twelve different chor-

1 De Æs. Chor. Sup.

4 pp. 1; 227 sq.

7 Att. Th., p. 263.

2 Die Chor. Tech. des Soph. p. 1.

5 Eumenides, p. 18 sq.

3 pp. 1; 52 sq.

6 Already quoted on p. 40 above.

entæ. Whether the first set of three verses was spoken by three of those who spoke verses 1348-1371, or by three other choreutæ, determines whether the chorus of the play consisted of twelve or of fifteen members; but there is no way of deciding this question. It is manifestly unsafe to draw a conclusion concerning the size of the chorus from the manner in which the choral odes were sung, until we have more information concerning this feature. It may, however, on general grounds, be considered probable that Æschylus in his later plays had a chorus of fifteen men. The *Oresteia* was presented ten years after the first appearance of Sophocles, and it is reasonable to believe that by that time Æschylus would have come to see the advantage of the larger chorus, and that he used it in that trilogy.

It is safe to follow the authority of Pollux¹, and believe that, as the dithyrambic chorus consisted of fifty members, so originally the chorus of tragedy consisted of this number. Muller² believes that, as soon as tragedy took the tetralogic form, forty-eight choreutæ were assigned to the tragic poet, and that he divided them among the plays of the tetralogy, as he thought best. If this was not the case, it must be believed that twelve or fifteen choreutæ were assigned to the tragic poet, and that these men acted as chorus in each of the four plays of the tetralogy. The chorus, then, in the only extant trilogy, the *Oresteia*, would have been obliged in the first play to take the part of old men; in the second, that of women; in the third, that of Furies; and, in the satyric drama that completed the tetralogy, that of satyrs. The use of masks would have rendered easy the counterfeiting of whatever external appearance was required in each individual play, yet it is questioned by Muller whether a single chorus of twelve or fifteen men could have been found, so well trained in their art as to be able to successfully personate, in singing and dancing, characters so different as were those of these four plays, or whether they would have had an amount of physical endurance sufficient to enable them to perform the long choral odes of all four

The theory
of Muller con-
cerning a tragic
chorus of forty-
eight

1 IV:110. 2 *Eumenides*, p. 10 sq.

plays of the tetralogy. If it is understood that a chorus of forty-eight persons was assigned to the poet, and that a different portion of them served as chorus in each different play, these difficulties are removed. The assumption that such was the case Muller considers strengthened by the fact that, in each of the plays of this trilogy, appears besides the proper chorus of the play a body of men (or women) resembling the chorus of one of the other plays of the trilogy. Thus, in the *Agamemnon*, there appear the servants who spread the purple upon which the king on his arrival alights, and these servants bear a general resemblance to the chorus of old women in the second play, the *Choëphori*. In this latter play, appear, besides the chorus proper, the *Eumenides*, the very chorus in the third play of the trilogy, and, finally, in the *Eumenides*, there appear, besides the chorus of *Eumenides*, both the female escort, which suggests the chorus of women in the second play, and the Council of *Areopagites*, who suggest the chorus of men in the first play; and it is noticeable that, at the close of the *Eumenides*, all three choruses leave the theatre together. The body of attendants show their similarity to a regular chorus by singing the final ode. Schultz¹ believes that, while tragedy had the tetralogic form, this view of Muller is perhaps correct, but that, as soon as plays were presented individually, a single chorus of fifteen persons acted in turn in each of the plays of a poet.

Nothing has been handed down to us from antiquity that is of much assistance in deciding whether the view of Muller is correct; but it is entirely probable that, in the early days of tragedy, before Sophocles introduced his improvements, the poet received a chorus of forty-eight men. The size of the chorus was originally, as Pollux states, fifty. When the practice was introduced of presenting plays in tetralogies, we may believe that the number was reduced from fifty to forty-eight, thus allowing twelve men for each play. It would have been difficult, if not impossible, in these early days to secure a set of twelve men so well versed in their art as to be able to successfully perform all

The changes
in the size
of the chorus

1 De Chori Trag. Exter., p. 38.

the dances and songs required in four different plays. In later times, when all parts of the drama had reached a state of perfect development, it is not unlikely that the art of the choreutæ also became so highly developed that a body of fifteen men could be found so well educated in dancing and singing as to be able to perform all the tasks required of them in four different plays, and we may assume that at this time the chorus assigned to a poet was reduced from forty-eight to fifteen. We need not hesitate to believe, then, that, at the time of the presentation of the *Oresteia*, a single set of fifteen men could have been secured capable of acting as chorus in each of the plays of the tetralogy.

§2 THE POSITION OF THE CHOREUTÆ

When the chorus consisted of persons who were supposed to come from the neighborhood, the entrance was by the western parodos. The chorus, accordingly, in those cases presented its left side to the view of the spectators. This fact is sufficiently illustrated by the scholium to Aristides:¹ *ὅτι γὰρ εἰσέλθοντες οἱ χοροὶ, πλεονήκως βαδίζοντες ἐπισυνάγου τοὺς ὄρνυς καὶ εἶχον τοὺς θεατὰς ἐν ἀριστερᾷ αὐτῶν, καὶ οἱ πρῶτοι τοῦ χοροῦ ἀριστερῶν ἐπέειχον.* The military precision with which the chorus was drawn up is shown by the numerous military terms used in connection with the chorus. Æschylus frequently uses the word *λόχος* to indicate the chorus; in the *Agamemnon*,² he makes the old men of the chorus to advance against Ægistheus with hand on sword precisely in the manner of *λογίζται*.

At its entrance the chorus presented its left side to the spectators

The entrance of the chorus was generally by the western parodos; but, in a few of the extant plays, it was by the eastern parodos. This was the case in the *Supplikes*, and the *Prometheus* of Æschylus; in the *Philoctetes* of Sophocles, and in the *Phœnissæ*, the *Supplikes*, the *Iphigenia in Aulis*, the *Bacchæ*, and the *Helena* of Euripides.

The entrance sometimes by the eastern parodos.

1 iii. p. 535 Dind. 2 *Agam.*, 1651.

The chorus on its entrance was drawn up in one of two ways, as is shown by Pollux,¹ who says: μέρη δὲ χοροῦ, στοίχος, ζυγόν. καὶ τραγικοῦ μὲν χοροῦ, ζυγὰ πέντε ἐκ τριῶν. καὶ στοίχοι τρεῖς ἐκ πέντε. πεντεκαίδεκα γὰρ ἦσαν ὁ χορός. καὶ κατὰ τρεῖς μὲν εἰσῆλθον, εἰ κατὰ ζυγὰ γίνετο ἢ πάροδος. εἰ δὲ κατὰ στοίχους, ἅν' αὖ πέντε εἰσῆλθον. ὁ δὲ ζωμικὸς χορὸς τέσσαρες καὶ ἑξῶς [ἦσαν] οἱ χορευταί, ζυγὰ ἕξ. ἔχαστον δὲ ζυγὸν ἐκ τεσσάρων. στοίχοι δὲ τέτταρες, ἕξ ἄνδρας ἕκαστον [στοίχους]. There were, then, of the tragic chorus of fifteen, five ranks (ζυγὰ) of three men each, and three files (στοίχοι) of five men each, and of a comic chorus, six ranks of four men each, and four files of six men each.

The entrance was said to be κατὰ στοίχους when the members of each stoichus were in line; and κατὰ ζυγὰ, when the members of each zugon were in line. In a chorus of twelve members, it follows that the stoichus contained but four men instead of five, as in the chorus of fifteen.

An entrance κατὰ στοίχους of a chorus of fifteen members entering the theatre by the western parodos presented the following appearance:

	θεάτρων.					
στοίχος α'	ε'	δ'	γ'	β'	α'	ἀριστ. or πρωτοστ.
στοίχος β'	ι'	θ'	η'	ζ'	ς'	λαμβουστ. or δευτεροστ.
στοίχος γ'	κ'	ιθ'	ιγ'	ιδ'	ια'	δεξωστ. or τριτοστ.
	στοίχος α'	στοίχος β'	στοίχος γ'	στοίχος δ'	στοίχος ε'	

An entrance κατὰ ζυγὰ of a chorus of fifteen members entering the theatre by the western parodos presented the following appearance:

1 IV., 108 and 109.

$\theta\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\tau\mu\omega\varsigma$				
$\zeta\omega\gamma, \alpha'$	$\frac{\gamma'}{\alpha'}$	$\frac{\beta'}{\epsilon'}$	$\frac{\alpha'}{\delta'}$	The $\alpha\tau\alpha \zeta\omega\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ arrangement
$\zeta\omega\gamma, \beta'$	$\frac{\alpha'}{\theta'}$	$\frac{\epsilon'}{\eta'}$	$\frac{\delta'}{\iota'}$	
$\zeta\omega\gamma, \gamma'$	$\frac{\theta'}{\iota'}$	$\frac{\eta'}{\kappa'}$	$\frac{\iota'}{\mu'}$	
$\zeta\omega\gamma, \delta'$	$\frac{\iota'}{\nu'}$	$\frac{\kappa'}{\xi'}$	$\frac{\mu'}{\pi'}$	
$\zeta\omega\gamma, \epsilon'$	$\frac{\nu'}{\rho'}$	$\frac{\xi'}{\sigma'}$	$\frac{\pi'}{\tau'}$	

It is evident that the arrangement $\alpha\tau\alpha \sigma\tau\omega\iota\chi\omega\upsilon\varsigma$, a narrow and long formation, presented a more pleasing appearance, as the chorus marched in over the narrow and long parodos, than did the broad and shallow arrangement $\alpha\tau\alpha \zeta\omega\gamma\acute{\alpha}$; yet we know from Pollux¹ that the $\alpha\tau\alpha \zeta\omega\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ arrangement was sometimes used. It was not, however, used in any of the extant plays of Sophocles,² but Arnold³ has shown that it was used at the entrance of the chorus in the Frogs of Aristophanes.

We have no authority of ancient writers to tell us what position the chorus took after reaching the orchestra. Hermann⁴ believes that at that time the chorus wheeled completely around, so that the left file, in which was the coryphæus, came next to the actors. This was done that the coryphæus might carry on the conversation with the actors more easily than would have been possible if he had stood on the side of the chorus nearest to the audience. Arnold⁵ maintains that the personal relations existing between chorus and spectators in comedy compelled the coryphæus to be as near as possible to the spectators, and that, therefore, the chorus did not wheel about in comedy, but that it did in tragedy. Muller⁶ believes that the coryphæus stood on the thymele, thus securing an elevation above that of the remaining choreutæ that rendered his

The position
of the chorus
after reaching
the orchestra

¹ IV., 109. ² Muff Chor. Tech. des Soph., p. 7.

³ Die Chorpartien bei Aristophanes, S. 35, 185. ⁴ Opusc., VI., 2, p. 144.

⁵ A. a. O. S. 187. ⁶ Eumenides, p. 21.

conversation with the actors easier than would have been possible, if he had been standing on a level with the other choreutæ. Muff¹ follows the opinion of Hermann in regard to tragedy, and that of Arnold in regard to comedy, believing that the close relations existing between coryphæus and actor in tragedy required the former to be in front of, not behind, the other choreutæ, and that the relations of coryphæus to spectators as exhibited in the parabasis required him in comedy to be nearer to the spectators. In drawing a conclusion amid the differing opinions, we must be guided by what appears to have been the most probable arrangement. In the first place, it will be observed that the ancient authorities say nothing concerning a wheeling around of the chorus after it has reached the orchestra. With all the notices of the manner of entrance, and the arrangement of the chorus, it is not probable that, had any such manœuvre taken place, some reference to it would not have been made. Again, the coryphæus, while standing on the side of the chorus next to the spectators, would have had no difficulty in carrying on the conversation with the actors, for the reason that the actors stood in the orchestra together with the chorus² and not on an elevated stage, as these writers have assumed. A very serious objection to the belief in the theory that places the left stoichus farthest from the spectators lies in the fact that this stoichus was composed of the best choreutæ. At the entrance this file was in full view of the spectators, and it seems entirely improbable that, as soon as the parodos was finished, the file containing the most skillful men of the entire chorus was made to take a position where it would be less prominently before the eyes of the spectators.

When the chorus entered by the western parodos, the best choreutæ were in the left stoichus, and were called *ἀριστεροποταῖται*,³ 'men on the left'. The question arises where these 'men on the left' stood, when the chorus came from a distance, and, therefore, entered by the eastern parodos. It is evident that, if they occupied the left file, they were obscured from the

The position
of the left file
when the chorus
entered by the
eastern parodos

1 Chor. Tech. des Soph., p. 9.

2 Cf. chap. 3 below.

3 Cf. p. 52 below.

eyes of the spectators. Schneider¹ believes that this was the case, and that, when the orchestra had been reached, the chorus made a revolution, thus bringing the left file next to the spectators. It is, however, unlikely that this was the case. The 'men on the left' were the 'show' men of the chorus. If at any time they were to make a good appearance, it would seem to have been when they were marching in. It is probable, then, that when the chorus entered by the eastern parodos, the 'men on the left' were on the side facing the spectators, and, thus, were, strictly speaking, 'men on the right.'

During the progress of the dialogue, the chorus generally was stationary. After reaching the orchestra, it turned about to the right, thus changing its form from *κατὰ στήθους* to *κατὰ ζυγά*, and, thus, it faced the actors. During the stasima, as the song was accompanied by dancing, the choreutæ evidently were not stationary; nor is it to be thought that they now faced the actors. As the actors were the chief point of attraction during the dialogue, so the choreutæ were the center of observation during the singing of the stasima. It is impossible to say exactly what position they took at this time; we know only that they were not stationary, and we may infer with confidence that they were not facing the actors.²

It is probable that, at the close of the play, the chorus left the theatre with the same regularity of movement with which it had entered, at the beginning of the play. In a few instances, the chorus left the theater during the course of the play,³ and returned later. This departure was called *μετάστασις*, and the return *ἐπιστάσις*.⁴ In the Septem of Æschylus, at the close of the play, the chorus left in two divisions, one division following the body of Eteocles, the other that of Polynices.

Position
of the chorus dur-
ing the dialogue
and the stasima

The exit
of the chorus
at the close
of the play and
during the play

1 Att. Theaterwesen S. 15ff., 193ff. 2 Haigh A. T., p. 275.

3 Eumen., 235; Ajax, 815; Helena, 327ff; Alcest., 746; Eccles., 310.

4 Pollux IV., 108.

To aid the choreutæ in keeping their positions while standing in the orchestra, Hersychius says:¹ γραμμαὶ ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρῃ ἦσαν ὡς τὸν χορὸν ἐν στοίχῳ ἵστασθαι. It is, however, better to believe with Hermann² that such lines were not necessary in order that a well trained chorus of fifteen or twenty-four persons might stand in rank and file. It is probable, rather, as Schultze³ suggests, that lines were drawn in the orchestra to serve as a guide to the choreutæ in making the various evolutions that occurred, as they were singing the longer choral odes.

When the chorus separated into semi-choruses, the coryphæus stood apart, and left the management of the semi-choruses to their own leaders.⁴ This separation into semi-choruses is especially common in comedy, where, in the last part of the parabasis, which was antistrophical in form, the different parts were given by the two semi-choruses separately.⁵ At this time the semi-choruses stood facing each other, as may be inferred from Hephestion:⁶ ἔστι δὲ τις ἐν ταῖς χορωδαῖς καὶ ἡ καλουμένη παράβασις, ἐπειδὴν ἐκτελθόντες εἰς τὸ θέατρον καὶ ἀντιπρόσωπον ἀλλήλοις στάντες οἱ χορεύονται παρέβαινον. The only separation into semi-choruses in Sophocles is the one already mentioned as occurring in the Ajax.⁷ A similar division takes place in the Orestes of Euripides, where Electra stations the chorus in two divisions, one at the eastern, the other at the western parodos.⁸ Pollux says concerning a division of the chorus: καὶ ἡμιχόριον δὲ, καὶ διχορία, καὶ ἀντιχορία. εἰσιτε δὲ ταῦτόν εἶναι ταυτὶ τὰ τρία ὀνόματα. ἐπὶ τῷ γὰρ ὁ χορὸς εἰς δύο [μέρη] διαιρεθῇ, τὸ μὲν πρῶγμα καλεῖται διχορία, ἑκατέρω δὲ μοῖρα ἡμιχόριον, ἃ δ' ἀντιχόριον, ἀντιχορία.⁹ Pollux here makes διχορία and ἡμιχόριον to be of the same meaning. Schultze¹⁰ conjectures that the term διχορία should be applied when the half-choruses consisted of persons of different ranks, or ages, or sexes, or when there was some other similar difference between them. He would, therefore, call the division in the Birds of Aristophanes a διχορία, for

1 I., p. 855. 2 Opusc. VI., part ii., p. 145sq.

3 De Cho. Trag. Ext. Hab., p. 50. 4 Cf. Muff Chor. Tech. Soph., p. 13.

5 Haigh A. T., p. 275. 6 14 p. 131. 7 Muff Chor. Tech. Soph., p. 21f.

8 806ff. 9 IV., 107. 10 De Ch. Trag. Ext., p. 52.

there the chorus consisted of twelve masculine and twelve feminine birds. A similar difference existed in the Phœnissæ of Phrynichus, where half the chorus consisted of Persian old men, and half of Phœnician old women. There is, however, no evidence to prove that the conjecture of Schultze as to the differences between *ἡμιχόριον* and *διχορία* is correct. The scholiast to Aristophanes' *Equites* (589) makes a statement of which there is no corroboration and which it is difficult to believe: ἔστι δ' αὖτε καὶ ἡμιχόρια ἱστῶντο ἡτοὶ ἐξ ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν. ἐν δὲ τοῖς τοῖσις χοροῖς, εἰ μὲν ἐξ ἀνδρῶν εἴη καὶ γυναικῶν ὁ χορὸς, ἐπλεονέκτει τὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν μέλος καὶ ἴσων γ', αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες ἐνδεσθαι. εἰ δὲ παιδῶν εἴη καὶ γυναικῶν, αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες γ' ἴσων, αἱ δὲ παῖδες ιά. εἰ δὲ πρεσβυτέρων καὶ νέων, τοῖς πρεσβυτέσις πλεονέκτειν δεῖν φασί.

The position of the coryphæus as the center of the left *στωίχος*, in a chorus of fifteen members, is indicated by the title of *πρῶτος*, or *μέσος ἀριστεροῦ* that is applied to him. Photius says: Συνέβαινεν οὖν τὸ μέσον τοῦ ἀριστεροῦ στωίχου τῆς ἐντετατάτης κ. τ. λ.¹ It is evident that the middle position was occupied by the coryphæus, and in the title *πρῶτος ἀριστεροῦ* is additional evidence that the usual entrance of the chorus was *κατὰ στωίχους*, for it is not probable that in a *κατὰ ζυγά* entrance, the position of the coryphæus was *πρῶτος*. The position of the coryphæus in a *κατὰ στωίχους* formation was that indicated by 'γ' in the diagram on page 46. In a *κατὰ ζυγά* formation of a chorus of fifteen, the position of the coryphæus was no doubt that indicated by 'β' in the diagram. Here the title *μέσος* is applicable to him, though not the title of *πρῶτος*.

The position of the coryphæus in a chorus of fifteen.

When a chorus of twelve members was drawn up *κατὰ στωίχους*, the left *στωίχος* appeared thus:



The position of the coryphæus in a chorus of twelve

There is here no *μέσος ἀριστεροῦ*, and Schultze² leaves it undecided whether the coryphæus occupied the position β' or γ'. It is probable that Muff is correct³ in claiming his position as β', and this because of the relation

1 S. V. *πρῶτος ἀριστεροῦ*. 2 De Ch. Trag. Ext., p. 44.

3 Chor. Tech. des Soph., p. 13.

existing between the coryphæus and his two παραστάται. Aristotle¹ likens the relation that existed between coryphæus and parastates to that existing between man and slave, or even to that existing between man and wife. He, also, calls the one of these parastatai that was of inferior rank πρωτοστάτης.² These men doubtless stood one in front of, the other in the rear of, the coryphæus, when the chorus marched in, taking the positions β and δ in a κατὰ στοιχῶνς formation of a chorus of fifteen. Their duties were to assist the coryphæus, and, at a division of the chorus, to act as leaders of the two semi-choruses. In a chorus of twelve men, Muff believes that there was but one parastates, and that, at a division of the chorus, the coryphæus acted as leader of one semi-chorus, the parastates as leader of the other. As the rank of the coryphæus was higher than that of the parastates, it was the duty of the former to set the example for the latter to follow. This could be done more easily if the parastates was behind the coryphæus, and, accordingly, as the chorus of twelve members drawn up κατὰ στοιχῶνς marched in, the position of the coryphæus was, doubtless, that indicated by β, that of his parastates, the position indicated by γ, on the diagram given on the preceding page.

§3 THE NAMES OF THE CHOREUTÆ

The five choreutæ in the left file, as the chorus of fifteen marched in by the western parodos, were called
 Their names ἀριστεροστάται, or πρωτοστάται.³ The five in the right
 derived from file were called δεξιωστάται or τριτοστάται. The five
 their positions in the middle file were called κωροστάται, 'men in
 the lane,' or δευτεροστάται.⁴ Those in the middle file were called
 also ὀπιοκόλπιτοι ὀπιοκόλπιτον τοῦ χοροῦ τῆς στάσεως χώραι αἱ ἄτιμοι.⁵
 The men at the ends (α, ε, ι, ι, ε, α) are called φιλέσις by Suidas:
 ἐπ' ἄκρου χοροῦ ἱστάμενος;⁶ and by Hesychius: αἱ ὄπισθοι χορεύοντες;⁷
 and they are called κρασπεδίται by Plutarch: ὀπισθερ χοροῦ, τοῦ συμ-
 ποσίου τὸν κρασπεδίτην τῷ χοροφάτῳ συνήκουν ἕχοντος.⁸

1 Polit., III., 4. 2 Metaph., IV., 11 3 Cf. diagram p. 46 above.

4 Poll., II., 161; IV., 106. Phot. v. κωροστάται; Hesych. v. ἀριστεροστάτης.

5 Hesych., II., p. 1471. 6 v. φιλέσις. 7 v. φιλέσις. 8 Conv., p. 678D.

The coryphæus had several titles. Thus, he was called *τρίτος*, *μέσος ἄριστερός*, as has been pointed out. He was called also *ἡγεμὼν τοῦ χοροῦ*, *ἄρχων χοροῦ*, *ἐξάρχων*, and *ἐξάρχος*,¹ as well as *χοροφαῖος*.² Sommerbrodt thinks that the titles *χοροκλέτης* and *χοροποιός* apply to the coryphæus.³ It is, however, better to believe with Schultze,⁴ and with Muff,⁵ that these titles refer rather to the trainer. The coryphæus was called also *χοροστάτης*.⁶ This word signifies, etymologically, one that arranges the chorus, and, therefore, is not strictly applicable to the coryphæus. The word is probably a survival from early days. Schultze⁷ believes that after the *ὑποδιδάσκαλος* was appointed to aid the poet in training the chorus, for a time he assumed some of the duties of the coryphæus, that he was called *χοροστάτης* from his functions of *ὑποδιδάσκαλος*, and that the title *χοροστάτης* came afterwards to be applied to the coryphæus, when his duties were not performed by the *ὑποδιδάσκαλος*.

The titles
of the coryphæus

A passage in Athenæus shows that the choregus also in early days performed the duties of the coryphæus: *ἐκλήοντο δὲ καὶ χορηγὸς ὄντ' ὅσπερ νῦν τῶς μεθωμμένων τῶς χορῶς, ἀλλὰ τῶς καθηγούμενων τοῦ χοροῦ, καθάπερ αὐτὸ τῶνδε στίχων.*⁸

The choregus
as coryphæus

In the earliest times, the poets themselves trained their choruses. Thespis, Pratinas, Cratinas and Phrynichus are said by Athenæus⁹ to have excelled in training choruses. The choregus was in these early times also coryphæus, as is proved by the passage just quoted from Athenæus, and also by Suidas, who speaks of the choregus as: *χορηγὸς ὁ τοῦ χοροῦ ἡγούμενος καὶ δοτὴρ*. When the professional trainer was appointed to aid the poet in training the chorus, the latter still exercised a supervision over the work, as is shown by the words of Photius:¹⁰ *ὑποδιδάσκαλος ὁ τῷ χορῷ καταλέγων· διδάσκαλος δὲ αὐτὸς ὁ ποιήτης ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης*. The choregus, it may be assumed, abandoned his duty

The poet as trainer,
the choregus;
the ὑποδιδάσκαλος
as coryphæus.

1 Cf. Muff Chor. Tech. des Soph., p. 7f. 2 Schol. Arist., Plut., 953, 954.

3 S. 13ff. 4 De Chor. Trag. Ext., p. 47. 5 Chor. Tech. p. 8.

6 Himerius Orat., IX., §3. 7 De Chor. Trag., p. 48. 8 XIV., 633b.

9 I. 22. 10 p. 627, 10.

of acting as coryphæus, when the *ὑποδιδάσκαλος* was appointed, and subsequently the latter also abandoned the task of coryphæus, devoting his time entirely to the training of the chorus, and leaving the functions of the coryphæus to be performed by that person himself.

The choreutæ in the left file, inasmuch as they were in the most conspicuous position, one could believe to have been the best looking and most skillful men in the chorus, even if special mention of this fact were not made by ancient writers.¹ The choreutæ in the third file came next in point of skill. If at any time the chorus wheeled completely around, these men came directly before the audience, and so it was necessary that they be inferior only to the choreutæ in the first file. Those in the second file were the poorest. They were the least exposed to the eyes of both actors and spectators. This fact is sufficiently shown by Photius:² μέσον τοῦ χοροῦ· αἰνεῖ γὰρ ἐν στενωπῷ εἶσιν· φανώτεροι δὲ οὗτοι, and by Hesychius:³ λαυροσάται· οἱ ἐν τοῖς μέσοις χοροῖς (χοροῖς?) ὄντες ἐν τισι στενωποῖς μὴ θεωροῦμενοι· οἱ δὲ χεῖρους μέσοι ἴσταν.

§4 A SECONDARY CHORUS

Whatever the choregus provided besides the regular chorus was called *παραχορήγημα*. This might include persons who appeared as mute characters, or persons who said a few words only, or a secondary chorus. If it was necessary for words to be either sung or spoken by persons out of sight of the spectators, these persons were called *παρασκήνια*. In some cases, these persons could be either members of the regular chorus or actors. At other times, such could not be the case, and then they came under the head of *παραχορήγημα*, and, as the derivation of the word indicates, they were supplied by the choregus.⁴

1 Cf. Schol. Aristides, quoted p. 45 above. 2 v. *λαυροσάται*.

3 II., p. 434. 4 Cf. Haigh A. T., p. 212f.

There are five passages in which the word *παράχορηγία* occurs. Four of them are scholia; the other is a passage in Pollux.¹ The first and second of the scholia refer to mute persons as *parachoregema*, the third designates a secondary chorus by this title, and the fourth applies the word to persons who say a few words. The passage in Pollux says that whenever a choreutes sings in place of a fourth actor, he is called *παράσχηρος*, but that when he speaks he is called *παράχορηγος*. This statement does not agree with the statements of the scholia, and is, doubtless, an error on the part of Pollux. The inaccuracy of the passage in Pollux is still further shown by the statement in it concerning a *παράσχηρος* in the Agamemnon, while in that play no *paraskenion* exists.

Passages where
occurs the word
παράχορηγία

As instances of *paraskenia* in comedy, may be mentioned the chorus of frogs in the *Frogs*, and the chorus of Agathon in the *Thesmophoriazusæ*.² The regular choruses in these two plays had not yet appeared, and so, doubtless, they took the parts of these special choruses. But an additional chorus was needed in the *Wasps*,³ where the chorus of boys appeared at the same time as the regular chorus; and, in the *Lysistrata*, four choruses appear at the same time. In tragedy, in the *Hippolytus*,⁴ the chorus of huntsmen after singing an ode to Artemis march out, and the chorus of women, the regular chorus of the play, at once appear. In the *Eumenides*, an additional chorus is present during a great part of the play. In these two examples from tragedy, then, as well as in the *Wasps* and the *Lysistrata* from comedy, we have examples of choruses coming under the definition of *parachoregema*.

Examples of
παράσχηρος
and of
παράχορηγία

§5. THE CHOREGUS.

As a part of the Dionysiac entertainments, were the contests between dithyrambic choruses. There were five choruses composed of boys, and five composed of men. Each of the ten tribes of

The appointment
of the choregus

¹ Scholia to *Prom.*, 12; *Eumen.*, 573; *Frogs*, 209; *Pax*, 114; *Poll.*, IV., 109.
² *Ran.*, 209; *Thesm.*, 104. ³ *Vesp.*, 248. ⁴ *Hipp.*, 61.

Athens was represented by one of these ten choruses. The victory of the chorus was considered a victory for the tribe. With these dithyrambic contests, we have nothing here to do. The dramatic contests, though they were under the supervision of the State, were contests between individuals. The poet, the choregus, the chorus were taken from Athens at large, and not from any particular tribe. In early times, the contests included only poets and choregi; afterwards actors also were included in the contests. The success or failure of a play was due in great measure to the manner in which the choregus performed his duties. The poets were appointed by the archon; the plays were submitted to him and it was his judgement that determined what plays had sufficient merit to warrant their presentation at the Dionysiac festival. The choregus also was appointed by the archon.¹ The succession of the office of choregus was determined by law; each wealthy citizen was required in his turn to take this duty; but an unusually public-spirited man could take this office oftener than the law required, if he so desired. In a speech of Lysias,² the defendant states that he has been choregus to eight choruses in nine years. This duty was liable to be given to a citizen as soon as he had reached his twentieth year, though a choregus to a chorus of boys must have reached his fortieth year.³ The manner in which choregi and poets were brought together has not been handed down us by the ancient authorities. We know only that the archon selected them. Demosthenes⁴ describes the manner in which, in the dithyrambic contests, the flute-players were assigned to the choregi by lot, and from this it may be assumed as not unlikely that a similar manner was adopted in assigning the poets to the choregi. The importance to the contending poet that he have a liberal choregus, as well as the importance to the choregus that he be associated with a talented poet, made it necessary that choregus and poet be brought together in some way that avoided all appearance of partiality; and this could have been done in no way better than by assigning to the choregi, the poets by lot.

¹ Demos. Meid., §13.

² Orat. XXI., §§1-5.

³ Æschin. Timarch., §§11, 12.

⁴ Meid., §§13, 14.

After actor, poet and choregus had been brought together, it remained for these three persons to prepare the play for presentation. The choregus had, in general, nothing to do with the actors, nor did he train the chorus. His main duties were to select the members of the chorus, care for them during their term of training, and pay them for their services. He had, also, at times to provide a few accessories of the play. He provided a room in which they were to practice¹, which was called *διδασκαλεῖον*,² or *χορηγεῖον*.³ More is known concerning the relations existing between the dithyrambic choregus and his chorus than concerning the similar relations in the dramatic performances. In the former instance, it is related of the choregus in Antiphon's speech that he lodged his chorus of boys in his own house during the entire term of training. This could hardly have been done in case of a dramatic chorus. Here the chorus consisted of persons drawn from the whole State, and Aristotle remarks⁴ that a tragic and a comic chorus often consisted of the same persons. It may, therefore, be inferred that a class of professional singers arose, and that they were often at the same time under engagement by more than one choregus. There is, however, no doubt that the choregus attended to the personal wants of his chorus during the time of their engagement. Plutarch mentions certain delicacies of diet that the choregus provided for his chorus.⁵

The duties
of the choregus

The chief expense that the choregus had to bear was the hire of the chorus during the entire term of training. After the custom had become established of having an instructor apart from the poet, the choregus paid for his services. Whether the choregus paid for the services of the flute-player cannot be stated with certainty. He had, also, to pay for the dresses of the choreutæ, and there was here ample opportunity for indulging an extravagant taste. Demosthenes⁶ supplied his chorus of men with crowns of gold. It is, however, related that choregi sometimes went

The expenses
of the choregus

1 Xen. Hiero, IX., 4. 2 Antiphon Orat., VI., §11. 3 Bekk. Anecd., p. 72, 17.
4 Pol., III., 3. 5 Glov. Athen., 349 B. 6 Demos. Meid., §16.

to the opposite extreme, and supplied their choruses with second-hand dresses.¹ The choregus had to supply, also, those various persons coming under the head of *παρονομήματα*,² and to pay for the dresses of such persons. That the choregus supplied these extra persons is proved by the story related by Plutarch³ of a tragic actor who was to take the part of a queen, but refused to do so, unless the choregus supplied him with a numerous band of attendants. The scenery was generally the property of the theatre, but if any special kind of scenery was needed, it is probable that the choregus had to pay for it. A choregus who was inclined to be liberal could easily spend a large sum of money in fulfilling the duties of his office, and it was especially easy to do so because of the intense rivalry that existed between different choregi. Demosthenes⁴ says that men often spent all their money in equipping choruses, and⁵ that more money was spent upon the festivals than upon a naval expedition. The defendant in a speech of Lysias⁶ states that he spent upon a tragic chorus thirty minæ, upon a comic chorus sixteen minæ, and upon a chorus of boys fifteen minæ, while a chorus of men cost him fifty minæ. Lysias tells,⁷ also, of a certain man who spent fifty minæ upon two tragic choruses.

The successful choregus in a dithyrambic contest received from the State a tripod, which he erected in some prominent place upon a monument upon which his victory was recorded.⁸ The successful choregus in a dramatic contest received no such prize, but, at the close of the contest, after the victory had been proclaimed by the herald, both the victorious poet and his choregus were crowned with garlands of ivy by the archon, in the presence of the spectators⁹. It was customary, also, for the choregus to erect a monument commemorating his victory. On the monument was inscribed merely the names of the poet, the choregus, and the archon for the year. In the procession that took place on the first day of the festival, the choregus appeared. Demosthenes says¹⁰ that when he was choregus, he wore a

Minor details
concerning
the choregus

1 Poll., VII., 78. 2 Cf. p. 54 above. 3 Phocion, Ch. XIX. 4 Meid., 61.
5 Phillip, I., §35. 6 Orat., XXI., §§1-5. 7 Orat. XIX., §29, 42.
8 Demosth. Meid., §5; Lysias, Orat. XXI., §2. 9 Aristid., vol. ii., p. 2 Dindf.
10 Meid., §10.

crown and a mantle that had been made especially to wear on that occasion. At the Proagon, appeared together with the poets and actors also the choregi. All of these persons wore crowns, but did not wear masks or stage-dresses. At the banquet given by the successful poet, there were present many of his friends, and it is entirely likely that the choregus was included among the guests, though there is no definite information to that effect. The persons of the participants at the Dionysiac festivals were regarded as sacred. Poets, actors, chorus, choregi were all considered as servants of the god Dionysus, and an offense against any one of these was an offense against the god himself. Demosthenes who, as choregus, was struck by Meidias, considered that not only he but the whole city of Athens had been insulted. The greatest statesmen were proud of winning victories as choregi, yet it seems that at times the choregus was too economical, or neglected his duties, and in such cases, it was the part of the archon to urge him to the proper fulfillment of his task.¹

In the year 406 B. C., a law was passed at Athens providing that each dramatic chorus at the City Dionysia should have two choregi.² This reduction of expenses to the individual was necessitated by the cramped financial condition of the citizens caused by the Peloponnesian war. Demosthenes relates² that in his time the tribe of Pandionis for two years was unable to supply a choregus for a dithyrambic chorus. The law of 406 may subsequently have been repealed, for single individuals are again found as choregi to tragic choruses.³ At about the beginning of the third century, the choregia was abolished, and an officer called ἀγωναρχὴς was appointed by the State,⁴ whose duty it was to provide all the choruses, the expenses being borne by the State. He would have to do mostly with dithyrambic choruses, as at this time the chorus had practically disappeared from comedy, and it is probable that the chorus of tragedy was not retained with its former splendor.

The decline
of the choregia

1 Xen. Hiero. IX., 4. 2 Demos. Meid., §13.

3 Lysias, Orat., XIX., §§29, 42; Demos. Meid., §156.

4 Corp. Inscr. Gr., 225, 226; Corp. Inscr. Att., II., 302, 307, 314, 331.

§6 THE DELIVERY OF THE CHORAL PARTS.

The words of the chorus were delivered sometimes in song, sometimes in recitative, and sometimes in ordinary speech. At times they were delivered by the whole chorus, at other times by parts of the chorus, and, again, at times by individual choreutæ. In the parodos, the whole chorus generally took part. Aristotle's definition of the parodos is: *παρόδος μὲν ἡ πρώτη λέξις ὅλου χοροῦ*¹; and, apart from any evidence of ancient writers, it is easily seen that the first appearance of the chorus would be rendered more effective in the sight of the spectators, if all the members joined in the opening song. The difference between the parodos and the stasimon consisted in this, that the former was sung as the chorus was approaching the orchestra, the latter was sung by the chorus while it was in the orchestra; and, again, that the parodos commonly explained the presence of the chorus and its sympathy with the action of the play, the stasimon expressed the sympathy of the chorus as it had been developed by the course of the play. In some instances, the opening song of the chorus was not sung by the whole chorus. The chorus in the *Alcestis* of Euripides at its entrance is divided into two half-choruses, which sing alternately. The Scholium to *Alcestis* (79) says: *ἐκ γερόντων φερούτων ὁ χορός, διαιρεῖται δὲ εἰς δύο ἡμιχόρια*. In the *Ion*, the parodos is sung by parts of the chorus. In the *Frogs* of Aristophanes, in the middle of the parodos² occurs a set of anapests which were spoken by the coryphæus, as may be inferred from the concluding words: *ὁμοῖς δ' ἀνεγείρετε μολπὴν* &c. &c., in which the chorus is ordered to proceed with the song. In the *Œdipus Coloneus* of Sophocles, Muff³ believes that the parodos was sung by individual members of the chorus; and the same was no doubt the case in the first part of the *Eumenides* of Æschylus where the words: *χορὸν ἄφωμεν*⁴ indicate that the chorus has reached its regular position in the orchestra. The remaining part of the parodos was, doubtless, sung by the whole chorus. In some of the older tragedians, the parodos

1 Poet., c. 12. 2 Vs. 354-371. 3 Chor. Tech., p. 16. 4 V. 307.

begins with a series of anapæsts. In these parodi, as, *e. g.* in those of the Supplices and the Persæ, Richter¹ infers that the anapæsts were recited by the coryphæus, and that the whole chorus began only where the anapæsts ceased, but it is impossible to prove that such was the case, and the conclusion remains that, except in a few instances, the parodos was recited by the whole chorus.

Aristotle states that the stasima, as well as the parodos, belonged to the whole chorus: χορευόντων, καὶ τοῦτον

τὸ μὲν παράδοσος τὸ δὲ στάσιμον, χορὴ μὲν ἀπ᾽ ἄντων ταῦτα

The stasima

*χ. τ. λ.*² As the parodos occurred at the opening of the play, so the stasima occurred, as the derivation of the word indicates, while the chorus was standing in the orchestra. Aristotle says² that the stasima should contain neither anapæsts nor trochees, two metres that, on account of their marching rhythm, are suited to the parodos, but not to the stasima. The stasima divide tragedy into parts that correspond to what in modern plays are called 'acts.' Horace³ asserts that the play should have neither fewer or more than five acts, but this rule is not observed by the tragedians. Thus, the Philoctetes has but one stasimon, and so has three acts, counting the prologue as one act; while the Antigone has seven stasima, and so has more than five acts. Stasima are introduced when the action of the play has reached a point that necessitates the reflections upon the conditions of affairs by the chorus. In the Agamemnon, the stasimon ending with verse 1033 is the last one, the remaining 641 verses constituting the last act. The prophecies contained in this stasimon so closely coincide with their fulfillment by the death of Agamemnon, and the emotions they excite are so little tranquilizing that there is no opportunity for another stasimon. Likewise, in the Œdipus Coloneus, the first general song of the chorus (*i. e.* the parodos) does not occur until verse 668, before this time the chorus being too full of horror at the fate of Œdipus to sufficiently compose itself to sing a long song discerning the hand of an overruling power.⁴

1 Die Altgriech. Trag., p. 11. 2 Poet., c. 12.

3 Ars Poet., 189f.: Neve minor, neu sit quinto preductor actu | Fabula, etc.

4 Muller, Lit. Gr., vol. 1, p. 413.

It is, doubtless, safe to follow the authority of Aristotle, and assign the stasima to the whole chorus. It is not probable that the effect of these important songs would be lessened by having them sung by parts of the chorus; yet it is sometimes suggested that such was the case. Thus Richter¹ believes that the strophe was sung by one semi-chorus, the antistrophe by the other, and the epode by the whole chorus, but epodes are rare, and there is not the least evidence that the stasima were thus sung.

There is a third kind of song in which the whole chorus took part. This includes those shorter songs which come, not like the stasima at pauses in the action, but during the course of the dialogue. They are expressly distinguished from the stasima by the scholium to Sophocles' *Trachiniæ* (216): τὸ γὰρ μελιδάρτον ὥς ἐστι στάσιμον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς ὀρχοῦνται. They are frequently used to express strong but transitory emotions, and, as such, are designated as hyporchemes. They were united with dances more animated than the ordinary tragic dance (*ἐρμελία*).²

The choral parts thus far considered are those in which, in general, many voices take part. There are many instances in which the parts assigned to the chorus were not taken by the chorus as a whole, but either by its leader, or by individual choreutæ. Words spoken by the coryphæus When the chorus, in the course of the dialogue, carried on a conversation with the actors, it is reasonable to believe, though there is no direct evidence to prove it, that the coryphæus acted as spokesman of the chorus. The chorus at these times is but an actor. Other instances are mentioned by Haigh³ in which it is probable that the coryphæus spoke for the chorus. These are the anapæsts at the ends of choral songs in tragedy by which the approach of an actor is announced, and which, if delivered in recitative, would form a gentle transition between the song that just precedes, and the speech that follows; the anapæsts with which many Greek plays end; the anapæstic

¹ Die Altgriech. Trag., p. 13.

² *Æs. Sup.*, 418-437; *Trachin.*, 205-225; *Ajax*, 693-717, furnish examples of this kind of song. ³ *Att. Th.*, p. 279.

tetrameters in comedy, including the speech to the people at the beginning of the parabasis; speeches like the one in the *Frogs*;¹ and words of exhortation, or remonstrance, that were at times addressed to the rest of the chorus.² In these instances we may reasonably believe that the coryphæus alone spoke.

There are other instances, in which there is much doubt as to the mode of delivery. Aristotle says: ἴδια δὲ τὰ ἀπὸ τῆς συνηγῆς καὶ λόγγοι κ. τ. λ.³ Whether ἴδια is to be understood as referring to individuals, or to groups, may be a question of doubt, yet it is evident that the authority of Aristotle assigns the *commoi* to persons other than the whole chorus. The *commos* is a favorite with Æschylus more than with the other tragedians. In the *Persæ*, it forms the entire exodus.⁴ Beyond the statement of Aristotle, that the whole chorus did not take part in the *commos*, we have no information on the subject.

There are still other instances in which it is impossible to determine the methods of delivery. These are instances in which the chorus is agitated by violent emotions, and in which various statements are expressed, often contradicting or repeating what has already been said. Muller⁵ cites certain instances in which he recognizes the voices of choreutæ speaking individually, and this opinion is shared by Muff.⁶ The scholium to the *Septem* (97) bears upon this question: τὰ πάντα δὲ τινες τῶν τοῦ χοροῦ γυναικῶν πρὸς τὰς ἑτέρας φασίν. Our information on the subject, however, is so limited that it may be well to leave it undecided how the choral parts in such cases were sung; yet in two instances it seems easy to distinguish the voices of individual choreutæ. These are the words spoken by the Erinyes in the *Eumenides*⁷ at their first appearance; and the words of the choreutæ in the *Agamemnon*⁸ at the time of the murder of the king.

The delivery
of the words
in certain doubtful
instances

1 Cf. p. 60 above. 2 e. g., *Ran.*, 382; *Vesp.*, 1516. 3 *Poet.*, ch. 12.
4 907-1076. 5 *Lit. Gr.*, vol. 1, p. 414. Instances cited are: *Eumen.*, 140-177,
254-275, 777-792, 836-846; *Theb.*, 78-181; *Sup.*, 1019-1074.
6 *Chor. Tech. des Soph.*, p. 15sq. 7 140ff. 8 1344ff.

In comedy the parodoi are never so long as in tragedy, nor are they so complicated in structure. The stasima, also, are not so long, nor do they, like the tragic stasima, serve to elevate the minds of the spectators to a calm consideration of the action of the play. This deficiency in stasimon is compensated for by an element peculiar to comedy, the parabasis. Like the stasimon, it was introduced at a pause in the action, and in Aristophanes the favorite place for it is at the point in the play where a crisis seems inevitable. The complete parabasis consisted of three parts. The first part is that in which the chorus, which up to that point had been facing the proscenium, turned about, and advanced toward the spectators. This is the parabasis proper. It usually consisted of anapæstic tetrameters, at times mixed with other long verses. It began with a short opening song called *χορμᾶσις*, and ended with a long anapæstic system called *πνίγος*, or *μακρόν*. In this, the parabasis proper, the poet spoke of his own affairs, extolled his own merits and derided his rivals, the second part of the parabasis was a lyric song addressed to some one of the gods. Following this came the third part, the *ἐπιρρημα*, which was in trochaic verses of which there should regularly be sixteen, which contained some reproach against the city; or some complaint, and which was in some way connected with the subject of the play. Both the lyric song and the *ἐπιρρημα* were repeated antistrophically. There is in comedy a license in all its parts, and this is seen in the parabasis, which in some plays is divided into two parts, the anapæstical introduction being separated from the lyrical song, as in the *Peace*, the *Frogs* and the *Knights*. In the *Knights*, there is even a second parabasis, but without the anapæstical introduction; and in the *Lysistrata*, the *Plutus*, and the *Ecclesiazusæ* the parabasis is omitted.¹

1 Muller Lit. Gr., vol. ii., p. 13sq. Schol. Aristoph. Equit., 503.

§7 THE COSTUME OF THE CHOREUTÆ

The choreutæ were dressed nearly like persons in ordinary life. As only men took the parts either of actors or of choreutæ, it was necessary that masks be used in the latter instance, as in the former.¹

The costume
of the choreutæ
in tragedy

A kind of shoe, *χορηγίς*, is said to have been invented by Sophocles for the use of the chorus.² The dress was at times varied to suit the circumstances of individual plays. Thus, the chorus of suppliant women in the Suppliants of Euripides wore black garments: *χορηγὰὶ δὲ καὶ πεπλόματ' οὐ θεωρικά*, and carried in their hands branches, as a sign of supplication: *ἐκτὶρι θαλλῶ προσπίττουσ' ἐμὸν γόνον*;³ and the chorus of maidens in the Chæphori were dressed in black: *τίς ποθ' ἦδ' ὁμήγυρις | στείχει γυναικῶν φάρεσιν μελαγχρίμοις*.⁴ In the Suppliants of Æschylus, the daughters of Danaus were evidently dressed in foreign garb: *Ποδαπὸν ὄμιλον τὸνδ' ἀνελλήγροστολον | πέπλοισι βαρβάρουσι καὶ ποικύμασι | χλίωντα*.⁵ The old men in the chorus of the Agamemnon carried staffs: *σκήπτροις ἰσόπαῖδα νέμοντες*;⁶ and the same fact occurred in the Hercules Furens: *ἀμφὶ βᾶκτροις | ἔρεισμα θέμενος*.⁷ The chorus in the Bacchæ carried tambourines in their hands: *αἰρεσθε τὰ πεζοῦρι ἐν πόλει φρυγῶν | τύμπανα*.⁸ The chorus of the Eumenides was of an exceptional character: *μέλαιναί δ' ἐς τὸ πᾶν βδελύκτροποι*,⁹ and the terror caused to the spectators by the appearance of such an unusual chorus is mentioned by Pollux.¹⁰

While in the old comedy the dress of the choreutæ was, in general, that of ordinary life, there were still greater variations from that type than there were in tragedy. Aristophanes, in the Clouds,¹¹

The costume
of the choreutæ
in comedy

claims credit for having, in that play, laid aside not only the comic dance (*χορδαζ*), but also various indecencies of costume. The dance in comedy was always wild, as compared with the dignified and stately dance of tragedy (*ἐμμελία*), and to allow the freedom of movement needed for this dance the mantle was laid aside: *ἀλλ' ἀποδύντες τοὺς ἀναπαίστοις ἐπίωμεν*.¹² τῶν θ' ἱματίων ἀπο-

1 Pausanias, I., 28. 6. 2 Vit. Soph. 3 Eurip. Sup., 97; 10.
4 Chæph., 10f. 5 Æs. Sup., 234ff. 6 Agam., 75. 7 Herc. Fur., 108f.
8 Bacchæ, 58f. 9 Eumen., 52. 10 Poll., IV., 110. 11 537ff.
12 Aristoph. Acharn., 627.

δύσας.¹ The masks, as befitted comedy, were of a ludicrous design.² In many of the plays of the comic poets, the chorus represented animals, as in the *Birds* and the *Wasps* of Aristophanes, and in similar plays of Eupolis and Magnes. The only information that we have concerning the costume in these choruses is derived from vase-paintings, which indicate that the resemblance of the choreutæ to the animals was of but a very general character. A still different kind of play was the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the *Seasons* of Cratinus, and the *Towns and Cities* of Eupolis. Concerning the first of these plays we know from two scholia to the *Clouds* that the only resemblance to clouds lay in the bright color of the dresses, and that in the masks there were various ludicrous devices. The first scholium is to verse 289: μέλλει δὲ τὰς Νεφέλας γυναικομόρφους εἰσάγειν, ἐσθῆτι ποικίλῃ χρωμένους, ἵνα τὰ τῶν οὐρανίων φυλάττωσι σχήματα. The second scholium is to verse 344: εἰσεληλύθασι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προσωπεῖα περιζέμενοι μεγάλας ἔχοντα ρίνας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχημονα.

The costume
of the choreutæ
in the satyr-drama

The costume of the satyrs in a satyric drama is sufficiently illustrated on vase paintings. It consisted of merely a goat-skin around the loins with a tail hanging down behind and the

phallus.³

1 Aristoph. *Thesmoph.*, 656. 2 Schol. *Clouds*, 344. 3 Haigh *Att. Th.*, p. 265.

CHAPTER III

THE STAGE

CONTENTS

§1 Alleged Evidence in Favor of the Stage:

The statements of Vitruvius and Pollux concerning the Greek stage.

Five passages from Aristophanes claimed as evidence of a stage.

The scholium on the Knights.

The explanation of Suidas.

The interpretation of the two scholia.

ἀναβαίνειν in the passage from the Knights has really no force.

καταβαίνειν in the fourth passage is used metaphorically.

ἀνακαταβαίνειν in other writers.

The commands in the five passages are to actors who have just entered.

The five passages furnish no evidence of a stage.

A passage in the Birds claimed to supply evidence of a stage.

A passage in the Lysistrata claimed to supply evidence of a stage.

A passage in the Supplices (Æs.) claimed to supply evidence of a stage.

A passage in the Peace claimed to supply evidence of a stage.

Passages in which it is claimed that the chorus withdrew close to the wall of the stage:

(1) Chæphori, 872ff.

(2) Hercules Furens, 1081ff.

(3) Ecclesiastusæ, 496ff.

(4) Acharnians, 239f.

The entrance of the chorus into the palace prevented.

The passage in Plato's Symposium.

The stone border would not have interfered with free action.

No difficulty in distinguishing actors from chorus, if all were in the orchestra together.

Need of a shallow stage claimed.

§2 The Thymele:

The difficulties presented by a high stage avoided by assuming a platform for the chorus.

A passage quoted by Wieseler and Hermann as evidence of a platform.

The arguments drawn from this passage.

Passages quoted by Muller as showing evidence of a platform.

None of these passages supply evidence of a platform.

Positive evidence against the existence of a platform:

(1) It would have interfered with the dithyrambic contests.

(2) No traces of such a platform remain.

(3) The circle on the floor of the orchestra at Epidaurus.

§2 The Thymele: (Concluded.)

- (4) The ornamented columns of the proscenium.
- (5) The exit of the chorus at the close of many plays.
- (6) The view of the occupants of the front thronoi.
The occupants of the front thronoi.
- (7) The steps at Bretria, and elsewhere.
- (8) A low stage would have been preferred to a high stage
and a platform.

§3 The Steps; the Distegia:

If there was passing between orchestra and stage, steps were needed.

No traces of such steps remain.

Steps would have prevented free action of the chorus.

The vase-paintings in Magna Græcia.

The depth of the distegia.

Had the actors stood on a stage, many of the spectators would have had but a poor view of them.

§4 Archæological Investigations:

Three sources of information.

The ancient orchestra; other ruins.

The stage buildings and cavea belong to the same period of construction.

The proscenium more recent than the stage buildings.

The columns of the proscenium; the doors.

No fixed type of stage-buildings in early times.

§5 Evidence Against a Stage from the Extant Plays:

Æschylus:

Supplices.

Persæ.

Seven against Thebes.

Prometheus Vincit.

Agamemnon.

Chæphori.

Eumenides.

Sophocles:

Ajax.

Antigone.

Electra.

Œdipus Tyrannus.

Œdipus Coloneus.

Philoctetes.

Trachiniæ.

Euripides:

Alcestis.

Medea.

Hippolytus.

Andromache.

Heracleidæ.

Supplices.

Hecuba.

Hercules Furens.

Ion.

Troades.

Helena.

Iphigenia in Taurus.

§5 Evidence Against a Stage from the Extant Plays (concluded):

Euripides (concluded):

Electra.
Orestes.
Phœnissæ.
Iphigenia in Aulis.
Bacchæ.
Rhesus.
Cyclops.

Aristophanes:

Acharnians.
Knights.
Clouds.
Wasps.
Peace.
Birds.
Lysistrata.
Thesmophoriazussæ.
Frogs.
Ecclesiazussæ.
Plutus.

§6 Evidence Against a Stage from Certain Facts Connected with the Entrance of Actors and of Choruses:

All actors entered into the orchestra either by a parodos, or directly from the palace in the background.

Four aspects of the entrance considered:

- (1) Instances where choruses announce in-coming actors.
Average number of verses spoken while actor is approaching

The time required for walking half way across the stage.
Actors actually seen.

Actors probably not just about to enter on the stage from door in side-wing when first seen by the choruses.
Conversations not carried on in the presence of the in-coming actors.

The actor when first seen was without the stage-buildings.
The actor when first seen was in the parodos, and approaching the orchestra.

This view explains various facts.

- (2) Instances where actors announce in-coming actors.

This class resembles the preceding class.

Actors not about to enter on the stage when first seen.
Actors may have been waiting in paraskenion.

Actors fail to observe other actors; they address chorus first.

Choruses oftener than actors announce approach of in-coming actors.

- (3) Instances where actors announce in-coming choruses.

An added element in this class.

The entrance of the chorus in the Phœnissæ.

The entrance of the chorus in the Œd. Col.

Antigone probably was not looking directly into the parodos from the stage.

In this class the actor probably in the orchestra.

- (4) Instances where actors come from the palace.

If the actor came on the stage he was in his position soon after being seen.

The actor in this class was actually seen approaching.

§6 Evidence Against a Stage From Certain Facts Connected with the Entrance of Actors and of Choruses (concluded):

- (4) Instances where actors come from the palace (concluded):

The time needed for him to reach his position, if this was on the stage.

A longer time consumed if he entered into the orchestra.

In a few instances actors are present soon after being seen.

In a few instances an unusually long time is consumed. In the plays of Shakespeare actors are present soon after being seen.

A comparison of Shakespeare with the Greek dramatists shows that in the former the actors had a shorter distance to pass over.

Titus Andronicus—Alcestis.

Titus Andronicus—Hippolytus.

Antony and Cleopatra—Helena.

Additional examples from Shakespeare.

The inference to be drawn from the comparison.

Actors that entered un-announced.

The entrance of actors a pleasing feature.

§7 Summary of Chapter III.

§8 The Mistakes of Vitruvius:

Vitruvius states that the actors stood on a stage.

Some historical facts relating to the theatre.

The positions of chorus, actors, scenery and *σκηνη* in the V. century.

The lowering of orchestra in Roman times.

The above test as applied to certain theatres.

The assumption that the orchestra was divided makes clear various facts.

Vitruvius drew his inferences concerning a Greek stage from the Roman stage

The description of a Roman theatre.

The words of the scholiast in the introduction to the Clouds.

§1 ALLEGED EVIDENCE IN FAVOR OF A STAGE

In the first century B. C., Vitruvius wrote, in his celebrated treatise 'On Architecture': *Ampliores habent orchestram Græci et scenam recessiorem minoremque latitudine pulpitem, quod λογιστον appellant, ideo quod eo tragici et comici actores in scena peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram præstant actiones * * * ejus logei altitudo non minus debet esse pedum X, non plus duodecim.*¹ In the second century A. D.,

The statements of Vitruvius and Pollux concerning the Greek stage.

¹ v. 7, 2.

Pollux wrote: καὶ σκηνὴ μέν, ὑποκρίτων ἴδιον. ἣ δὲ ὀρχήστρα, τοῦ χοροῦ, κ. τ. λ.¹ Following the authority of these two writers, it has been the universal belief until very recent years, that the chorus occupied the orchestra, the actors the stage; but the recent excavations of theatres at Epidauros, Assos, Oropus, and elsewhere, within the last twelve years, and, finally, of the Theatre of Dionysus at Athens, in 1886, have called into question the truth of these statements of Vitruvius and Pollux. Recent writers who believe that the actors stood on a stage nevertheless do not accept the statement of Vitruvius which says that the stage should be not less than ten, nor more than twelve feet high. Thus, Verrall² believes that the plays of Æschylus and his immediate successors were acted on a stage less than six or seven feet in height. Haigh³ believes that at the time of the great dramatists there was a stage six or seven feet in height.

There are five passages in the comedies of Aristophanes, in which the uses of the verbs ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν are held to prove the existence of a stage. If these verbs mean 'to go up,' and 'to go down,' respectively, it will have to be admitted that the plays in which they occur were acted upon a stage.⁴ The passages are:

Five passages from Aristophanes claimed as evidence that there was a stage

δεῦρο δεῦρ', ὦ φίλτατε, ἀναβαίνει σωτήρ τῆ πόλεως καὶ νόν φανείς.	<i>Eq.</i> , 148-9
ἀναβάνε δεῦρο χροσομηλοκλόνθιον.	<i>Vesp.</i> , 1342.
ἀλλ', ὦ πονηρὰ κόρη! ἀθλίον πατρός, ἄρξαι ποττὶν μάδδαν, αἶ χ' ἐρήξειέπα.	<i>Achar.</i> , 731-2.
ἀτὰρ καταβατέον γ' ἐπ' αὐτοῦς, ὧς ὕρξ.	<i>Vesp.</i> , 1514.
τί δήτα διατρίβεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἄγεῖς τασθεῖ λαβών; ἐν ὅσῳ δὲ καταβαίνεις, ἐγὼ ἐπάσσομαι μέλος τι μελλοῦσι πνικόν.	<i>Eccl.</i> , 1151-3.

1 IV., 123. 2 Class. Rev., vol. IV., 1890, p. 226. 3 Att. Th., p. 158.

4 Cf. Muller, B.-A., p. 110, and Haigh, A. T., p. 144, where these passages are quoted, except the one from the Acharnians, and are considered to afford positive proof of a stage. Cf. also the discussion of these five passages in Capps' 'The Greek Stage,' in Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass., 1891; in White's 'The Stage in Aristophanes,' in Harv. Stud. Class. Phil., 1891; and in Pickard's 'The Relative Positions of Actors and Chorus,' Am. Jour. Phil., Oct., 1893, p. 289f.

On the first of these passages we have the following scholium (Eq., 149): ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει· "Ἰνα, φησὶν, ἐκ τῆς παρόδου ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον ἀναβῇ. (διὰ τὴν οὖν ἐκ τῆς παρόδου; τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἀναγκαῖον. λεχτείον οὖν ὅτι ἀναβαίνειν ἐλέγετο τὸ ἐπὶ τὸ λογεῖον εἰσιέναι. ὃ καὶ πρόσκειται. λέγεται γὰρ καταβαίνειν) τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιῷ ἔθους. (τοῦτον δὲ οἱ μὲν Κλεώνυμον, οἱ δὲ Ὑπέρβουλον, οἱ δὲ φασιν Εὐβουλον εἶναι. ὥς ἐν θυμῷ δὲ τὸ ἀνάβαινε.) The scholium is thus given in Dubner.

In Suidas (s. v. ἀνάβαινε) we have the following words: ἵστέον ὅτι ἔλεγον οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐπὶ λόγιον εἰσιέναι ἀναβαίνειν, καταβαίνειν δὲ τὸ ἀπαλλάττεσθαι ἐντεῦθεν, ἀπὸ τοῦ παλαιῷ ἔθους. Ἀριστοφάνης "ἄλλαντοπῶλα, ὁδεῖρο ὁδεῖρ', ὦ φίλατε, ἀνάβαινε σωτήρ τῇ πόλει καὶ νῦν φανείς."

It will be noticed that both these scholiasts assume the existence of a stage. The point of contention with them is whether the Sausage-dealer came in through the parodos and mounted the stage, or entered the stage through a wing. The second scholiast, as White points out, corrects the first, and says that it should be known that to enter upon the stage was called ἀναβαίνειν, and that to leave the stage was called καταβαίνειν, and that these words arose from the old custom. The 'old custom' referred to is that which is described by Pollux¹ in the words: ἐλέος δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία, ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χυρευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο. In the early days of the drama when the spectators were seated on the ground, and the single actor delivered his part standing on the table, the verb ἀναβαίνειν was used to denote his mounting the table. It naturally resulted that when, in later days, the spectators sat in tiers of seats, and chorus and actors were mingled together in the orchestra, the verb ἀναβαίνειν, now stereotyped, was still used to denote the entrance of the actor.² The words of the scholiast are clear, then; he says that ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν signify merely 'to enter' and 'to leave'.

¹ IV., 123.

² Dörpfeld, Recension of Haigh's Att. Th., Berl. Phil. Woch., 1890, 468.

Capps believes that ἀναβαίνει in the passage in the Knights adds nothing to the meaning of the sentence in which it occurs; that, as at the beginning of the command occur the words δεῦρο δεῦρο, the whole command is equivalent to no more than 'Come, come over here'.¹

ἀναβαίνειν
in the passage from
the Knights has
really no force

In the fourth passage, καταβαίνειν is used in a metaphorical sense, and is equivalent to the Latin 'in certamen descendere', as is now generally agreed among scholars. In this sense the word occurs in Herodotus, Xenophon and Plato.² It occurs, also, in Sophocles, where the words τινες ἀμφίγυροι κατέβαν πρὸ γάμων³ are interpreted 'certain suitors contended for her hand'. This meaning of the word is recognized by Suidas, who says: καὶ καταβαίνειν τὸ εἰς ἀγῶνα χωρεῖν. "ἐν αὐτῷ καταβαίνει παραβαλλόμενος".⁴

καταβαίνειν
in the fourth pass-
age is used meta-
phorically

It may be observed, still further, that ἀναβαίνειν is used by other writers where there is no suggestion of ascent. Thus, in Homer, φάτις ἀνθρώπους ἀναβαίνει⁵ can hardly contain any notion of ascent; nor is there any ascent implied in the words of Plato:

ἀνα- and κατα-
βαίνειν in other
writers

ἀναβάς εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον.⁶ Herodotus uses the word in question as the equivalent of περιελθεῖν, 'to come to', in the words: εἰς Αἰωνίδην ἀνέβανε.⁷ Likewise καταβαίνειν is used where there is no suggestion of descent, as in Herodotus in the words: εἰς λιπὴς κατέβανε,⁸ and in Pindar in the words: ἀτρικέει κατέβα ποδὶ⁹ where it signifies 'to advance'.

It is noticeable that in each of the three passages from Aristophanes in which occurs ἀναβαίνειν the command is given to an actor just after he has entered. If we understand that he is commanded to 'come up', we must believe that he entered the orchestra while the remaining actors were on the stage, yet there is nothing in the context to indicate that he entered in a manner other than usual.

The commands in
the five passages
are to actors who
have just entered

1 p. 66f. 2 White, p. 168. 3 Trachin., 504. 4 s. v. κατὰβα.
5 29. 6 Gorg., 486 B. 7 7, 205. 8 1, 116. 9 7, 3, 72f.

In the passages, then, from Aristophanes, the verbs ἀναβαίνειν and καταβαίνειν convey no notion of ascent and descent, and, therefore, the passages contain no evidence either for, or against, a stage.

The five passages furnish no evidence of a stage

A passage in the *Birds* is cited by both Muller and Haigh¹ as further evidence of an elevated stage:

A passage in the *Birds* claimed to supply evidence of a stage

Πει. βλέψων κάτω. Επ. καὶ ὁγὼ βλέπω. Πει. βλέπε νῦν ἄνω. Επ. βλέπω. Πει. περίαγε τὸν τράχηλον. *Aves*, 175-6.

The argument from this passage in support of a stage is based upon the assertion that, if the Epops had been on the floor of the orchestra, the command βλέψων κάτω would have been meaningless. We know that the scenery in this play was wild and unusual. Euelpides (v. 20ff) directs Pisthetairus to lead somewhere down the rocks, for he sees no path, and his companion replies that there is, in fact, no path there. We can easily see the two actors as they stood, on this rocky ground, with Pisthetairus on a rock somewhat higher than the ground on which his comrade was standing. In such a situation, the command 'look down' is entirely natural, and contains no evidence of a stage.

Another passage quoted as evidence of a stage is the following:

A passage in the *Lysistrata* claimed to supply evidence of a stage

ἀλλ' ἂν τὸ γὰρ μοι τῆς ὁδοῦ

λοιπὸν ἔσται χωρίου

τὸ πρὸς πόλιν, τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδῶν ἔχω. *Lysist.*, 268-9.

The chorus of old men are advancing toward the citadel. The remainder of the path they call τὸ σιμόν. Thescholium on *Lysistrata* 288 is: τὸ σιμόν, οἱ σπουδῶν ἔχω: (τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν) τὸ σιμόν ὄνομα χωρίου περὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν. (τὸ σιμόν) ἀντὶ τοῦ πρόσαντες. τὸ σιμόν was, then, the ascent leading to the acropolis. We need imagine only a ground sloping up towards the proscenium; up this gentle incline these old men go. At other times during the course of the play, these old men pass over this same ground and enter the house; the chorus of women come from the house and re-enter it, yet in none of these movements is there anything in the context that implies ascent or descent.² It was

1 Buhnenalt., p. 109; Att. Th., p. 144.

2 Cf. analysis of *Lysistrata*, ch. III., §5.

quite natural for the old men to think of this part of their journey as up-hill (*σεμῶν*), though the incline was but a gentle one. The end of any journey may seem up-hill, especially when it is performed by old men who are carrying bundles of wood,¹ and when it occurs in a Greek comedy. We must always, in fact, beware lest we take Aristophanes too literally for "no characteristic of his is better recognized than the liberty he took in drawing on the imagination of his audience. If the actors said that it was night, to them it was night, though it was in reality midday; if they said that they were going up-hill, the spectators could be trusted to believe that the way was steep, even if it were on a dead level."²

Danaus, in the *Supplices* of Æschylus, says to his daughters:

ἱκεταδόχου γάρ τῆσδ' ἀπὸ σκοπῆς ὄρω

τὸ πλοῖον.

Sup., 713-14

A passage in the *Supplices* (Æs.) claimed to supply evidence of a stage

The words *ἱκεταδόχου σκοπῆς* are considered as evidence that Danaus was standing upon a stage.

It is, however, quite as reasonable to understand that Danaus was standing upon an altar. At verse 180, when he sees a crowd of men approaching, fearing that harm awaits his children, he says to them (189): *πάγον προσίζειν τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν*. Likewise, at verse 725 he says to his children: *τῶνδε μὴ ἀμελεῖν θεῶν*. It is evident, then, that there were altars near to both Danaus and his children (cf. *τῶνδε* in both passages). Danaus speaks in both these passages exactly as one would expect him to speak, if father, children, and altars were all close together in the orchestra

Muller³ cites also *Peace* 564f. as evidence that the chorus were below the actors. Hermes here says:

ὦ Πόσειδον, ὡς καλὸν τὸ στίφος ἀντῶν φαίνεται

καὶ πυχνὸν καὶ γοργόν ὥσπερ μάλα καὶ πανδαίσι.

A passage in the *Peace* claimed to supply evidence of a stage

It would seem, however, that the passage affords no evidence either for, or against, a stage. Muller claims, also,³ that the conversation between the two Athenians during the entrance of the chorus in the *Birds* indicates that the birds were below the Athenians; but, as in the passage from the

1 Cf. vs. 267, 312.

2 Capps, p. 68f.

3 Buhnenalt., p. 109.

Peace, there seems to be in this passage no evidence either that there was, or was not, a stage.

Muller cites four passages in which he thinks that the chorus withdrew for a short time, and that the only place to which they could have withdrawn was the front wall of the stage.¹ The first passage is:

Passages where it is claimed that the chorus withdrew close to the wall of the stage

(1) Passage from the Chæphori 872ff

ἀποσταθόμεν πρᾶγματος τελευμήνου,
ὅπως δοχόμεν τῶνδ' ἀναίτιαι κακῶν
εἶναι.

Chæph., 872-4.

Muller, who believes that the chorus stood on an elevated platform, believes that in this instance they descended by steps to the floor of the orchestra, and then concealed themselves close by the proscenium wall. It may be observed concerning this passage that evidently the chorus did not at once withdraw, for the servant on entering commands them (877f.) to open the doors of the palace. Their failure to do as ordered called from the servant (882) the cry, 'I am shouting to the deaf'. Whether the chorus then retired there is no evidence from the text to show, but, as they remained during the speech of the servant, which occupied nine verses, and then made no further mention of going away, we have no reason to think that they did go. They next took part with a choral ode at vs. 931ff. Their opening words in this ode were to bewail the calamity of the wretched pair. This implies knowledge of the coming fate of Clytemnestra, which could have been gained only by hearing the conversation that had just taken place between Clytemnestra and Orestes. They could not have spoken so confidently, merely trusting to impressions gained from the closing fears expressed by the servant (882ff). The conclusion, then, that we may draw is that the chorus fail to carry out the desire expressed at vs. 872-4; and remain in their position in the orchestra.

¹ Bühnenalt., p. 135 and Phil. Anz., 15, 528.

The second passage is:

φυγά φυγά, γέροντες, ἀποπρὸ θωράτων

διώκετε φεύγετε μάργον

ἄνδρ' ἐπεγείρονενοι.

Herc. Fur., 1081-4.

(2) Passage from
the Hercules
Furens, 1081ff.

Amphitryon here orders the chorus of old men to hasten from before the house; but there is no evidence that the command is obeyed. Hercules, because of whom they were told to flee, begins speaking at v. 1088, and continues speaking, though perhaps hardly yet awake, for twenty verses. Amphitryon then (1109) asks the chorus whether he shall tell them his woes, and they answer him (1110) with assurances that they will not desert him in his calamitous state. They do not take part again till they sing the words that close the play (1427f); but nothing in the intervening conversation indicates that they are not in their usual place. If the command of Amphitryon (1081ff) proves anything, it would seem to prove that Hercules was to enter on a level with the chorus, for, if he was to enter on a stage several feet higher than the chorus, his separation from them would be so great that it would be quite unreasonable to expect them to flee from him in fear.

The third passage is:

ἀλλ' εἴα δεῦρ' ἐπὶ σκιᾷ

ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς τὸ τεῖχον,

παραβλέπουσα θατέρω,

πάλιν μετασκευάσσε σταντήν ἀθις ἥπερ ἦσθα. *Eccl.*, 496-9.

(3) Passage from
the Ecclesiastes
496ff.

Muller claims that the τεῖχον (497) was the wall of the proscenium, and that the chorus withdrew beneath the platform, upon which they commonly stood, to the proscenium wall. It is, however, just as satisfactory to consider that the τεῖχον was the wall of the parodos.

The fourth passage is:

οὗτος αὐτός ἐστι ὃν ζητοῦμεν, ἀλλὰ δεῦρο πᾶς

ἐκποδών. θύσων γὰρ ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἔοικ', ἐξέρχεται.

Achar., 239-40.

(4) Passage from
the Acharnians
239f.

Dicaeopolis is coming from his house to celebrate the rural Dionysia. The chorus is marching in by the parodos, stating (204ff) their desire to find Dicaeopolis. Soon they see him, and give the command 'δεῦρο, ἐκποδών' (239f). Dicaeopolis

and his attendants go forth for their celebration, when suddenly the chorus cry (281) 'βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε'. Concerning the passage, three facts are clear. (1) Dicæopolis marches a long distance before he reaches the chorus, (247-280). (2) He approaches near to the chorus. (3) The chorus are all the time in a position where they can watch him. The hiding-place of the chorus, therefore, was in the parodos; not close to the proscenium wall.¹

Haigh cites three instances in which the chorus did not enter the palace or tent in the background, though it would naturally have done so, and he thinks that the reason for this failure lay in the fact that the entrance would have involved the difficult ascent of a flight of steps.² The three instances cited are:

The entrance of the chorus into the palace prevented

ἀλλ', ὦ φίλοι, τούτων γὰρ εἵνεκ' ἐστάλην,

ἀρήξαι εἰσελθόντες, εἰ δύνασθ' ἐτι.

Ajax, 328-9

βοῦλεσθ' ἐπεισπέσωμεν; ὡς ἀκριχὲς καλεῖ

Ἐκάβη παρῆναι Τρωάσιν τε συρμάχους. Hecuba, 1042-3

ὅρμεις δὲ βᾶσαι τῶνδε ὁωμάτων ἔσω

θανάτου γιν' ἐκλύσασθαι

Andromache, 817-18.

In these passages, although the chorus either is invited to enter the palace or tent in the background, or deliberates doing so, yet it stays without. In each instance an actor at once appears, and, therefore, the chorus is not obliged to leave the orchestra. Haigh thinks that the poet contrived the appearance of the actor in order to relieve the chorus from the necessity of attempting the difficult ascent; but we may quite as readily believe that it was because the poet wished the action to continue before the eyes of the spectators, rather than within the palace or tent. Again, it will be noticed that in none of the passages in the verb of motion is there any idea of ascent. Thus, in the passage from the Ajax, Tecmessa uses the verb *εἰσερχομαι*. There is a clear invitation, in that verb, to the chorus to come *in*, but no invitation to come *up*. Had Tecmessa been standing on a stage high above the level of the chorus, in inviting them to come to a level with herself, it is hardly possible that she would

1 Capps, p. 73. 2 A. T., p. 153.

not have used some word denoting ascent. In connection with the passage from the *Andromache*, it may be observed that the nurse, later in the play, says to Hermione (876 f):

ἀλλ' εἴσιθ' εἴσω μηδὲ φαντάζου δόμων
παρουθε τῶνδε,

The important words in the two passages are:

βῆσαι τῶνδε δωματίων εἴσω for passage 817,

and εἴσιθ' τῶν δόμων εἴσω for passage 876, and the corresponding words in the two passages are practically synonymous. The former passage the nurse addresses to the chorus, the latter, to Hermione; and in neither instance is the command obeyed. It would be quite as logical to claim that Hermione, in the latter instance, was kept from entering the palace because there was a difficult ascent for her to climb in order to reach it, as to claim that the chorus, in the former instance, was kept from entering the palace for a similar reason.

A passage in Plato's *Symposium*¹ has been interpreted to signify that Agathon mounted a stage. The reference, in this passage, is to the Odeum, which was built 'like a theatre'.² Agathon is here said to have mounted ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα. This

The passage
in Plato's
Symposium

ὀκρίβας is understood to mean a 'stage', and, therefore, the inference is drawn that the theatre had a stage. The weight of the passage as evidence in favor of a stage depends upon the meaning of the word ὀκρίβας, and this seems to signify only an elevation in the middle of the Odeum, which resembled the thymele in the regular theatre. On this ὀκρίβας, at the Proagon, the actors mounted, who were to take part in the theatre, a few days subsequently. If it is true that the ὀκρίβας was but another name for the stage of the theatre, the question may fairly be asked why the word was not oftener used in this sense.³

1 *Sympos.*, 194 B.: ἀναβαίνοντος ἐπὶ τὸν ὀκρίβαντα μετὰ τῶν ὑποκριτῶν, καὶ βλέψαντος ἐναντία κ. τ. λ. 2 *Schol. Aristoph. Vesp.*, 1109: οἱ δ' ἐν ᾧδεῖω: ἔστι τόπος θεατροειδῆς κ. τ. λ. 3 *Cf. Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 276.

Haigh maintains that the stone border in the circular orchestra at Epidauros would have seriously interfered with the movements of the actors, if they had stood in the orchestra.¹ There is no evidence to show that there was such a border in the orchestra of the Athenian theatre, but, granting that there was, it is difficult to see wherein it would have caused any serious impediment to the free action of the actors. There was plenty of room within the circle for both chorus and actors.

The stone border would not have interfered with free action

It is urged, also, that, if the actors had stood on a level with the chorus, the spectators in the lower tiers of seats would have been unable to see them, except as the chorus moved to and fro, thus disclosing the actors. This argument hardly seems to be a strong one, for we know that the bodies of the actors were increased in size by cothurnus, padding and onkos; and this was done probably for the express purpose of making them easily distinguished from the members of the chorus.² We know, also, that on the modern stage there is no difficulty in distinguishing the principal from the subordinate actors, though there may be hundreds on the stage at the same time. It is true that there are no injunctions handed down to us such as 'the chorus must not obscure the actors', but neither are there any similar injunctions at the present day.

No difficulty in distinguishing actors from chorus if all were in the orchestra

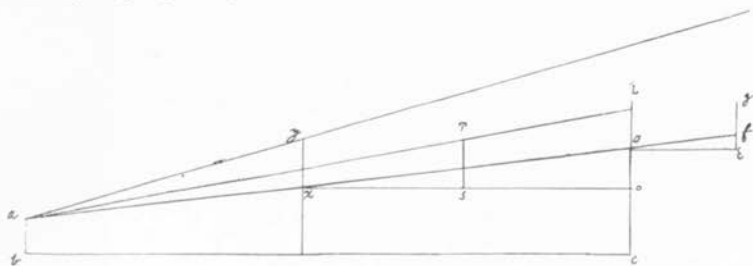
Need of a shallow stage claimed

Haigh states his belief that the Athenians, having determined upon a high stage, could not make this stage deep because, if they had done so, the spectators in the front rows could not have seen an actor standing at the rear of the stage.³ In the existing ruins of the theatre of Dionysus the lowest step of the auditorium is raised a few inches above the level of the orchestra; the seats in the front row are twelve and one-half inches high. The eye of a person sitting on one of these seats would be about

1 A. T., p. 145. 2 Cf. ch. III., §8.

3 Recent excavations show that the roof of the proscenium of the theatre at Athens was eight feet deep; and all of this could not have been used for a stage (cf. p. 89f. below). The suggestion has been made that if the Athenians had wished to have a stage they would have made it deeper, thus allowing more room for the actors. To this suggestion Haigh makes the reply quoted above. *Class. Rev.*, May, 1890, p. 279.

two and one-half feet higher than the seat, and thus about four feet higher than the level of the orchestra. The thronos in the centre of the front row was about twenty-three metres distant from the proscenium wall. A person sitting in the centre thronos would have been able to see of a person six feet in height standing at the rear of a stage four metres high and four metres deep all except about the lower third of his body. The accompanying diagram makes this fact clear.



a represents the eye of the occupant of the thronos in the center of the front row; *CD*, the proscenium wall; *De*, the stage; and *Eg*, a person six feet in height standing at the rear of the stage. The scale used is m.=9.64 in.

§2 THE THYMELE¹

Some of those that hold to the traditional view that assigns a stage to the actors, and the orchestra to the chorus have nevertheless seen the great difficulty of carrying on a conversation between chorus and actors thus separated; they have recognized the close relation that existed between actors and chorus, and have endeavored to meet the difficulties presented by the stage-theory by assuming that the chorus had its position on a raised platform. This platform, they have assumed was several feet higher than the level of the orchestra,

The difficulties presented by a high stage avoided by assuming a platform for the chorus

1. The word *thymele*, when used in connection with the theatre, has four different meanings. From the earliest times an altar of Dionysus stood in the orchestra (cf. Pickard, p. 85). To this altar the name 'thymele' was sometimes given, as in the passage quoted below from Suidas. After the beginning of the real drama, the first actor stood on a table near the altar (Poll., IV., 123). To this table the title 'thymele' is applied in Et. Mag., p. 458, 30. 'Thymele' is used also for 'orchestra' (Haigh A. T., p. 155), as in the epigram of Simmias Thebanus quoted below. It is used, also, for 'stage' in the scholium to Aristoph. Equit., 149 (quoted above p. 72f.), in the words: *ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ δὲ τὸ ἀνέβαινε*. That *θυμέλῃ* here means stage is shown by the scholium to Aves, 673: *ὡς ἐν θυμέλῃ γὰρ προσωπεῖον ἐστὶν ἔχονσα* speaking of Procne (White, p. 166).

but not so high as the level of the stage. To this platform the name *θυμέλη* has been given. Among others to advocate this theory are Wieseler, A. Muller, and Hermann.

Wieseler and Hermann base their theory, in part, upon a passage in Suidas and Et. Mag. v. *σκηγή*:¹

The passage from Suidas and Et. Mag. quoted by Wieseler and Hermann as evidence of a platform

σκηγή ἐστὶ ἡ μέρη θύρα τοῦ θεάτρου, παρασκήνια δὲ τὰ ἐνθεν καὶ ἐνθεν τῆς μέσης θύρας χαλκᾷ κάγκελλα ὧν τὰ ἐν- τὸς καὶ τῆς μέσης θύρας ἢ ἵνα σαφέστερον εἴπω, *σκηγή*. μετὰ τὴν *σκηγήν* ἐθὺς καὶ τὰ παρασκήνια ἢ ὀρχήστρα· αὐτὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ὁ τόπος ὃ ἐκ σανίδων ἔχων τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐφ' οὗ θεατρίζουσιν οἱ μέμροι. εἴτα μετὰ τὴν ὀρχήστραν βωμὸς ἦν τοῦ Διονύσου, τετραγώνων οἰκοδόμημα κενόν, ἐπὶ τοῦ μέσου, ὃ καλεῖται *θυμέλη* παρὰ τοῦ θύειν. μετὰ τὴν *θυμέλην* ἢ *κονίστρα*, τοῦτέστι τὸ κάτω ἔδαφος τοῦ θεάτρου.

Wieseler argues from this passage that the *τετραγώνων οἰκοδόμημα κενόν* was not the altar of Dionysus, but was the platform for the chorus; and, therefore, he calls this platform the *thymele*. There is, however, no reason why we should not interpret the words in the simplest way, and consider that the *οἰκοδόμημα* was the altar of Dionysus. Hermann² believes that the *ὀρχήστρα* which is here said to come *μετὰ σκηγήν* was the platform upon which the chorus stood, but *ὀρχήστρα* here signifies the *logeion* of the Roman theatre, and on it, as was natural, were the *μέμροι*.³

Muller⁴ cites various passages as evidence that the chorus stood upon a raised platform. Thus he cites Pollux IV., 123: καὶ *σκηγή* μὲν, ὁποριζτῶν ἱδίων, ἢ δὲ ὀρχήστρα, τοῦ χοροῦ. ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἡ *θυμέλη*. This passage asserts that there was an altar of Dionysus in the orchestra. There is no suggestion that it was a platform upon which the chorus stood. Again, Muller quotes the epigram of Simmias Thebanus:

τόν σε χοροῖς μέλξαντα Σοφοκλέα παῖδα Σοφίλου,
τόν τραγικῆς Μούσης ἀστέρα Κεχροπίων
πολλάκις ἐν *θυμέλῃ*σιν καὶ ἐν *σκηγῇ*σι τεθελὼς
βλαίσους κ. τ. λ.

¹ Cf. Haigh, A. T., p. 154.

² Opusc., VI., 2, p. 152ff.

³ Cf. ch. III., §8.

⁴ B. A., pp. 129-136.

We may believe here, either with Haigh¹ that *θυμέλη* is used with the signification *ὀρχήστρα*, or with Pickard² that the only inference to be drawn from the passage is that the *θυμέλη* and the *σκηνὴ* were two important parts of the theatre. Another passage quoted is Corp. Inscr. Gr.: ἐν σκηναῖσι λαβοῦσαν παντοίης ἀρετῆς * * * ἐλτα χοροῖσι πολλάκις ἐν θυμέλαις. All that can be claimed here is that the chorus and thymele were associated, unless we again consider that *θυμέλη* is used with the meaning of *ὀρχήστρα*. So other passages are quoted in which occurs the word *θυμέλη*, but there is in them no suggestion that it was used as a platform for the chorus. The remark of Hesychius, v. γλῶττι Σιδωνίω: ἄρχαια δὲ ἐστὶν ἐν ᾗ τῆς θυμέλης ἀρχεῖται οὕτως, signifies that the play begins with a choral ode. The scholium to Aristides, III., p. 536 Dind.: ὅτε εἰσῆλθαι ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἥ ἐστὶ θυμέλῃ states that the thymele was in the orchestra. Vitruvius, v. 7, 2, says: actores in scēna peragunt, reliqui autem artifices suas per orchestram præstant actiones itaque ex eo scēnici et thymelici græce separatim nominantur. Here it is stated that the chorus, inasmuch as it took part in the orchestra, received a name from the thymele, which was placed there. In the Hyporchema of Pratinas in Athen., XIV., p. 617 C, are the words: τίς ὁ θόρυβος; τί τὰδε τὰ χοροῦντα; τίς ὄβρις ἐμῶν ἐπὶ Διονυσιαδα πολυπάταγα θυμέλων; Here the τίς ὄβρις is of the musicians who desired to lead rather than accompany the chorus, and the πολυπάταγα θυμέλων refers to the thymele which was made to resound to the stamping of the feet of the musicians. The passage from Isidor Origgen., XVIII., 47: thymelici erant musici scēnici, qui in organis et lyris et citharis præcinebant, et dicti thymelici, quod olim in orchestra stantes cantabant super pulpitem, quod thymele vocabatur, states simply that the musicians sang in the orchestra standing 'super pulpitem, quod thymele vocabatur', that they stood on some part of the thymele, and hence received a name from the thymele, *i. e.*, were called thymelici.

1 A. T., p. 155. 2 p. 74f.

From all the passages, then, that are quoted as evidence of a platform for the chorus, it seems that not one should be construed to imply the existence of such a platform. There is no passage in any ancient writer that either states directly or implies, that the chorus stood upon a platform. It may be assumed that, if such a platform had existed, it would have been distinctly mentioned.

None of the passages supply evidence of a platform.

Positive evidence against a platform for the chorus.

The evidence produced thus far has been negative, but there is positive evidence that the chorus did not stand on a raised platform.¹

1. An important feature at the City Dionysia were the contests between the dithyrambic choruses. The drama had its chorus of twelve, or fifteen, or twenty-four members; the dithyrambic chorus consisted of fifty members who stood in a circular position. In order that the platform be large enough to accommodate this circular chorus of fifty, it would have been necessary that it cover the greater part of the orchestra; or, if only the dramatic chorus had occupied the platform, it would still have been large enough to seriously interfere with the free movements of the dithyrambic chorus while standing on the floor of the orchestra. Neither of these arrangements seems probable.

(1) It would have interfered with the dithyrambic contests.

(2) No traces of a platform remain.

2. If such a platform had existed, there would still remain marks showing connection between it and the proscenium. No such marks remain.

3. On the floor of the orchestra of the theatre at Epidaurus a large circle was marked out. The inference is that the chorus danced within this circle. No such circle has been discovered at Athens, yet it may be conjectured that such a circle existed there.

(3) The circle on the floor of the orchestra at Epidaurus.

4. The columns of the proscenia of the theatres at Epidaurus, Oropos, Eretria, and Athens were highly ornamented. If in front of them there had been platforms, the artistic effect of the ornamented columns would have been greatly marred. Fur-

(4) The ornamented columns of the proscenium.

¹ Cf. Haigh A. T., p. 156sq., and Pickard, p. 76sq.

thermore, in the center of each of these proscenia was a door leading into the orchestra.¹ Such a door would have been practically useless, had there been a platform in front of it.

5. At the close of all the plays of Aristophanes, except the Thesmophorizeusæ and the Knights, as well as at the close of many of the plays of the tragedians, the chorus left the theatre in company with the actors. There is nothing in the context of these plays implying that the chorus made a descent.

(5) The exit of the chorus at the close of many plays

In the Wasps, the chorus leave the theatre dancing, a manner of exit that would have been impossible, if the chorus had been standing on an elevated platform. In the Clouds, the chorus close the play with the words, "Lead the way out; for we have acted sufficiently as chorus to-day." We can easily believe that this order was executed, and that Socrates, Phidippides, Strepsiades, and Chærephon went out by the parodos, followed by the chorus. If the chorus had been on an elevated platform, and the actors on a stage still higher, in order that the command be executed, it would have been necessary for the chorus to wait for the four actors to file down the steps from stage to platform, and then for all to descend the steps to the orchestra, and make their exit by the parodos. That such was the case seems improbable.

6. A weighty objection to the belief in the existence of a platform is that it would have seriously interfered with the view that the occupants of the thronoi in the front row would have had of both actors and choreutæ. If the choreutæ had stood at the front of a platform that was two and one-half metres in height, and extended twelve metres from the proscenium,² the occupant of the center thronos in the front row would have been unable to see any part of an actor standing on the stage. (Cf. diagram on p. 81). The line yx represents the choreutes standing at the front of the platform,

(6) The view of the occupants of the front thronoi would have been interfered with

¹ Cf. ch. III., §4.

² The height of the platform is assumed to have been two and one-half metres. As the object of the platform was to bring chorus and actors near enough to each other to make conversation easy, and as the stage at Athens was four metres high, in order to accomplish the end desired, the platform must have been at least two and one-half metres high. It is assumed to have extended twelve metres from the proscenium.

and *a* the eye of the priest in the center thronos of the front row. If we suppose the choreutes to have stood, not at the front of the platform, but half way back, and the actor to have stood at the front of the stage, hardly more than one-half of the choreutes would have been seen by the priest, and of the actor the priest would have seen not more than the head. *Ts* represents a choreutes, *Ld* an actor standing thus. The view of the occupants of the thronoi at the ends of the front row would have depended upon the nearness of the platform to their thronoi. Their view would probably have been no better than that of the occupant of the center thronos; and the only way in which their view could have been made more favorable would have been to have the platform slope toward the sides, from the center line (*xo*). But even this would not have proved entirely satisfactory, for, in this case, a priest in the end thronos would not have had a favorable view of a choreutes on the side of the platform sloping away from him. Likewise, the view of the priest in the center thronos would have been aided by having the platform slope toward him also. Thus, to afford the priests who occupied the thronoi in the front row a view of both actors and choreutæ, it would have been necessary that the platform slope from the proscenium toward the front, and from a center line toward the sides. It would not have been easy for the chorus to dance upon such a platform.

In the ruins of the extant cavea at Athens, the thronoi in the front row, sixty-seven in number, are seen to have been occupied by men of the highest dignity. The occupants of the front thronoi. Inscriptions on fifty-four of these seats show that they were occupied by priests, or ministers connected with religion. In the center thronos sat the priest of Dionysus Eleuthereus. Other seats in the front of the theatre were occupied by other dignitaries; and the seats in the rest of the theatre were occupied by ordinary citizens.¹ It seems highly improbable that the arrangement of the theatre was such that the ordinary citizen had a better view of choreutæ and actors than the priest of Dionysus had.

¹ Haigh A. T., p. 305sq. This arrangement existed in the time of Hadrian; but there can be little doubt that a similar arrangement existed in the fifth century B. C.

7. In the theatre at Eretria, which belongs to the fourth century B. C., there has been discovered a flight of steps leading from the centre of the orchestra to an underground passage, which leads to a position back of the proscenium, and, at this point, is a flight of steps similar to the flight leading down from the center of the orchestra.¹ "The work of the walls of this tunnel is excellent; it is older than the stone 'stage'-front—which corresponds to the similar structures at Epidaurus, Oropos, and Athens".² It is quite impossible to imagine more than one use for this passage. Pollux³ tells us of 'Charon's Steps'. We have in this flight of steps leading down from the center of the orchestra the Charon's Steps of Pollux. A similar passage has been found at Magnesia, and at Tralles. At Sicyon,⁴ the passage served as a drain. No such passage has been found at Athens, but it is probable that such a passage existed there. A platform for the chorus would have destroyed the use of such a passage.

(7) The steps at Eretria and elsewhere

Finally, if we are to believe that there was a platform for the chorus, we must assume that the Greeks first constructed an orchestra for the chorus, and then a stage twelve feet high for the actors; but, finding that the distance between the two levels was too great to suit the necessities of the drama, that they next built a platform for the chorus, which brought actors and choreutæ nearer to each other. It seems incredible that the Greeks, had they made the mistake of constructing a stage too high, would have gone on doing so year after year, when the simple device of lowering the stage would have accomplished all that was aimed at by a high stage and a platform.

(8) A low stage would have been preferred to a high stage and a platform

1 Cf. Reprints Amer. Journal Arch., VII., No. 3. 2 Pickard, p. 80.
3 IV., 132. 4 Cf. Amer. Journal Arch., vol. V., fig. 9.

§3 THE STEPS; THE DISTEGIA

It is generally admitted that there were instances where the chorus, or its leader, came into personal contact with the actors. Haigh¹ admits such personal contact in the *Helena*, where the leader of the chorus detained Theoclymenus, who was about to enter the palace and kill his sister,² or in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, where the chorus restrained Creon from carrying off Antigone,³ or in the *Knights*, where the coryphæus handed to the sausage-seller an oil flask and some garlic.⁴ Haigh admits, also, that in the *Prometheus* the chorus entered by the stage, that in the *Eumenides*, at the opening of the play, the chorus of Erinyes were on the stage, and that in the *Suppliants* (Eurip.) the chorus of matrons appeared in the opening scene, kneeling at the feet of *Æthra*. It is evident that, if in these instances, there was passing between orchestra and stage, this must have been accomplished by means of steps connecting the two levels. The authority for the existence of such steps is Pollux.⁵

If there was passing between orchestra and stage, steps were needed

No traces of such steps remain.

Concerning these steps, it may be observed that no traces of any such steps have been discovered by modern archæologists.⁶ If, as Haigh claims,⁷ these steps in the fifth century B. C. were made of wood, and, therefore, have been destroyed, the question remains, why, after the stone proscenium was constructed, the steps were not made of stone. Traces of them would then still remain.

Again, if there had been steps connecting stage and orchestra, they would have extended a considerable distance into the orchestra,⁸ presenting not a pleasing appearance, and, also, probably interfering with the free action of the chorus. These steps could not have been placed against the center of the front of the proscenium and parallel to it, for, in that case, they would

Steps would have hindered free action of the chorus.

1 A. T., p. 152. 2 *Helena*, 1621ff. 3 *Œd. Col.*, 856ff. 4 *Knights*, 490ff.
5 IV., 127: εἰσελθόντες δὲ κατὰ τὴν ὀρχήσπραν, ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν διὰ κλισίων ἀναβαίνουνσι. τῶς δὲ κλισίως οἱ βαδίζοντες, κλισιαὶ τῶς καλοῦνται.

6 Cf. *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 275. 7 *Class. Rev.*, May, 1890, p. 280.

8 Cf. Pickard, *Amer. Journal Phil.*, April, 1893, p. 81f.

have seriously interfered with the use of the door in the center of the proscenium.¹

The existence of these steps is defended by the vases found in Magna Græcia.² On these vases are representations of scenes from comedy, and from the center of the stages flights of steps lead down; but Dorpfeld has shown³ that these vases date no further back than the third century B. C., and that no such vases have been found, except in lower Italy. No vase painters of Athens had set the example of painting such scenes, and this is no reason, if they had, why the painters of Southern Italy should have gone back more than a century for the scenes of their pictures. No chorus is ever found in these lower Italy paintings. These vases, then, seem to have no bearing upon the present question.

The vase-paintings
in Magna Græcia.

Recent excavations show that the depth of the stage at Athens was about eight feet.⁴ The *distegia* was a ledge, or platform, on which might appear several persons.

It represented, in general, the roof of a house.⁵

The depth of the
distegia.

How deep this *distegia* was we have not been told by ancient authorities, but must let the plays indicate. The watchman, at the opening of the *Agamemnon*, represents that he has spent a year on the *distegia*. We would naturally conclude that the *distegia* in this instance was of considerable area. Toward the close of the *Clouds*, Strepsiades climbs to the roof of the *phrontisterion*. He says (1495f.) that he is chopping logic with the beams of the house, and (1503) that he is walking on air. Presumably he is not free from violent motions when he thus speaks. In both these instances, then, we must infer that the *distegia* was large enough to allow considerable freedom of action.⁶ It seems hardly possible that this freedom could have been obtained on a *distegia* less than three feet deep. The stage-scenery was as far front of the back wall as the *distegia* was deep. Allowing, then, three feet for the *distegia*, and what one may wish for the scenery, there remains less than five feet for the depth of the stage. Those that believe

1 Cf. p. 93 below. 2 Haigh, *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 280.

3 *Class. Rev.*, 1890, p. 275.

4 Cf. Pickard, p. 80f.

5 Pollux, IV., 129.

6 Cf. also *Orestes*, 1573ff.; *Wasps*, 143ff.; *Peace*, 223ff. In the last instance the chorus appears on the *distegia*.

that the stage was used for the actors must believe that on this stage, less than five feet deep, appeared at the same time several actors, many attendants, even horses and chariots.

The construction of the auditorium of the theatre of Dionysus was such that while all the spectators had an excellent view

Many would have had a poor view of the actors.

of the orchestra, many of them had only a poor view of the stage. Thus, a person sitting near the place indicated by the letter *F* (cf. plan p. 91) would have been able to see but little that was taking place on the stage, if anything at all. The plans of the theatres at Epidaurus, Eretria, and Megalopolis, show a method of construction similar to that of the theatre at Athens. These three theatres belong to the fourth century B. C. It cannot be contended that they were constructed to suit plays in which the chorus was the predominant feature, for, in the fourth century, the importance of the chorus was greatly diminished. If we believe, then, that the actors stood on the stage, we shall be compelled to believe, also, that the Greeks built theatres that gave to many of the spectators a very poor view of the actors.

§4 ARCHÆOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

In deciding the question whether the actors stood on the stage, or in the orchestra, we must draw our evidence from

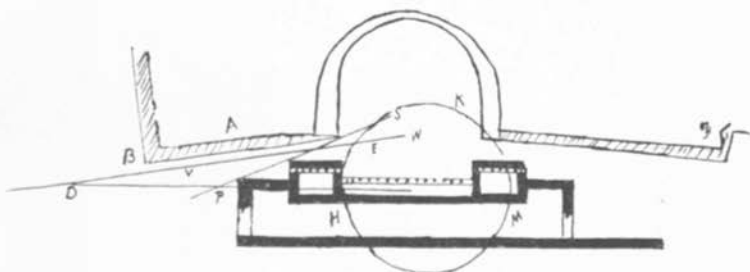
Three sources of information.

three sources—ancient writers, the existing ruins, the plays themselves. Of these sources, the last outweighs in value the other two.¹ Before examining the plays of the dramatists, it remains to see what evidence is afforded by the investigations of the ruins on the site of the theatre of Dionysus.²

¹ Dorpfeld himself in his recension of Haigh's *Att. Th.*, Berl. Phil. Woch., 1890, 468, recognizes the fact that the plays are our best source of information.

² The results of Dorpfeld's investigations are given by Pickard, *Amer. Journal Phil.*, April, 1893; and by Miss Harrison, *Class. Rev.*, 1890, pp. 274sq.

The oldest of the existing ruins are the remains of an orchestra, *HKM* (cf. plan). There are remains, also, of a cavea,



The ancient
orchestra; other
ruins

of stage-buildings, and of a second orchestra. That the first-mentioned orchestra has no connection with the cavea is seen, at a glance, from the relative positions of the two. That there is no connection between this orchestra and the stage-buildings is evident from the fact that the stage-buildings cross the orchestra. The construction of the supporting walls of this ancient orchestra belongs to some period not later than the fifth century B. C., as is clear from the fact that they are built of irregularly shaped pieces of Acropolis limestone, a material for building that was not used later than the fifth century. These supporting walls are made necessary because the level of the earth is about six feet lower on the southern side than on the other sides of the orchestra. We know that there were no stage-buildings in connection with this orchestra, because the walls on their outer surface are finely dressed on all sides. If on one side there had been stage-buildings tangent to the walls, on that side it would have been unnecessary to have the walls so finely dressed. These walls present just the appearance that we should expect to find, if the audience was seated on all sides of the orchestra. The inference is strong that it was on this orchestra that the plays of the four dramatists were produced, and, with the picture of this orchestra before us, we can easily see how, in the final catastrophe of the *Prometheus*, the Titan and his sympathizing chorus were made to disappear from the sight of the spectators.

The stage-buildings, the cavea, belong to the same period of construction.

The walls of the oldest stage-buildings, and of the cavea, belong to the same period of construction. "Wherever these walls were not exposed to view as in the inner supporting walls of the cavea * * * and in the lower foundations of the stage-buildings, they are constructed of blocks of breccia of the same size, shape and method of working throughout. If exposed to view, as in the outer cavea wall and in the upper courses [of the stage-buildings], Peiraieus limestone was used. When any portion of the superstructure remains, the Peiraieus limestone is covered by Hymettos marble."¹ It is evident, then, that the stage-buildings and cavea belong to the same period of construction. That this period is the fourth century B. C. is shown by three facts: (1) No ruins in Athens constructed as these are belong to a period prior to the fourth century. (2) At the point *A* in the supporting-wall of the cavea are found the letters Ω and υ, the former of which is of the shape in use after the time of Euclides. (3) At the point *B* in the supporting wall is an inscription,² the date of which is uncertain, but which certainly falls somewhere within the period 450-400 B. C. That the inscription could not have been made after the stone which bears the inscription was put in its present position is clear from the fact that above it are two layers of stone. It is only reasonable to believe that the stone remained in its former position some length of time, before it was removed to the cavea wall. The longer we may believe it to have remained in its former position, the later do we bring the construction of the cavea walls. Dorpfeld points, further, to the fact that the fourth century was the great theatre-building time in Greece, and to the improbability that so important a structure as the theatre of Dionysus, had it been built in the fifth century, could have escaped mention by classic writers.³

¹ Pickard, p. 71. ² Published in CIA, I., 499.

³ Haigh (A. T., p. 123f.) opposes these views of Dorpfeld, and, relying on the tradition recorded by Suidas (v. *παρθενας*), that after the collapse of the wooden benches in 499 B. C., when Pratinas, Aeschylus and Choerilus were exhibiting, a stone theatre was built, believes that we are probably justified in assuming that the stone theatre was begun early in the fifth century.

The proscenium connected with these stage-buildings belongs to a period still later. The stylobate upon which rested the supporting columns of the proscenium consisted of Hymettos marble resting directly upon a foundation made mostly of breccia. This was a method of construction not in use till after the time of Lycurgus. During, and before, his time, between the marble and the breccia would have been a layer of Peiraiæus limestone. The columns of the proscenium with the epistyle were about twelve feet high, corresponding, thus, with the similar parts of the theatre at Epidaurus. The upper surface of the stylobate is on a level with the surface of the orchestra that is directly in front of the proscenium.

The proscenium
more recent than
the stage-buildings.

The columns of the proscenium, which rested upon the stylobate, were full columns, .50 m. in diameter.

In the center of the proscenium were three doors, the center door being in the center of the proscenium. The width of this door was 1.6 m.;

The columns of the
proscenium;
the doors

that of the other two a little less. That these were, in truth, doors is proved by the fact that the inter-columnar spaces are greater where the doors were than elsewhere, and by the existence in the stylobate of traces of door-posts. Between the center door and those on the sides of it, there was in each instance but a single column. When the stylobate was constructed, the fronts of the paraskenia were cut off, so that they ended with the stylobate.

Modern archæological investigations, thus, show us a cavea, an orchestra, and stage-buildings, all belonging to a period later than the time of the great dramatists. They show us, also, the ancient orchestra with which no stage-buildings were connected; and this latter fact is strong indication that there was no fixed type of stage-buildings in those days, and that these varied as the individual plays demanded.

No fixed type
of stage-buildings
in early times

§5 EVIDENCE AGAINST A STAGE FROM THE EXTANT PLAYS¹*ÆSCHYLUS—Supplices*

As Danaus comes as an escort to his children, the assumption is fair that he makes his entrance with them, and stays with them in the orchestra. If he had entered between the opening of the play and the time when he begins speaking, it is probable that some announcement of his arrival would have been made. At verses 180ff., he mentions the approach of a messenger of an army, a spear-brandishing crowd with horses and curved chariots. He thinks that these may be coming 'πρὸς ἡμᾶς' (184). The use of this last word indicates that he was close to his children. At verse 189, Danaus commands his children: *πάγον προσίξεν τῶνδ' ἀγωνίων θεῶν*. The word *τῶνδε* indicates that the altar was near to the speaker. The command is repeated (191): *ὥστ' ἀχίστα βῆτε*, and the chorus in reply state their desire to be near their father, in the words: *θέλωμεν ἄν ἤδη σοὶ πέλας θρόνους ἔξεν* (208). They again flee to this altar, at the arrival of the herald (836). In none of these instances in which the chorus approached the altar is there reason to believe that they ascended a flight of steps. The altar, then, which was near to both father and children, was in the orchestra. The herald (836) orders the children to go to the ship; he orders them (852) to leave the altars; he threatens to drag them (883); he repeats this threat: *ἔλξεν ἑοιχ' ἡμᾶς ἀποσπάσας κόμης* (909). The king tells the herald (940f.) that he may lead away the willing maidens. It is evident, then, that the herald, also, was near to the children and the altar. He, also, was in the orchestra. The king (954f.) bids the children go to the city. They ask (968ff.) that before they go their father be sent to them. He arrives at v. 980, and then leads the way to the city, followed by his children. It can hardly be

1. Many of the arguments advanced in the following pages have been produced by White, in "The 'Stage' in Aristophanes", *Harv. Studies in Class. Phil.*, 1891; by Capps, in "The Greek Stage", *Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass.*, 1891; and by Pickard, in "The Relative Positions of Actors and Chorus in the Greek Theatre", *Amer. Jour. Phil.*, July, Oct., 1893. The conclusions reached in the following pages have, however, been arrived at by an independent study of the plays, and before reading the articles above mentioned. In all cases, where suggestions have been received from those writers, credit has been given to them.

believed that in this procession the father marched out by the stage, the children by the parodos.

No scenery was needed for this play. All that was required was an orchestra in which were many altars (Cf. 465), and in which actors and chorus took part.

Persæ

At her second entrance (598), Atossa announces that she comes without her chariot: *ἄνευ τ' ὀχημάτων* (607).

Because she thus specifies, we may infer that at her first entrance (159) she came in her chariot. Persæ

It may be safely assumed that in the instances where actors arrived on chariots they entered by the parodos into the orchestra. We have seen that the depth of the stage at Athens was eight feet, or, allowing for distegia and scenery, a trifle less than five feet.¹ There was not room for a chariot on a stage such as that. Though Xerxes arrived in sorry garb (907), it was probable that he was accompanied by attendants, and that he entered on a chariot. He, therefore, as well as Atossa, entered into the orchestra; and it is evident that Atossa expected her son to come to this place, for, before she left to prepare the libation in honor of her husband, she urged the chorus (529) to escort her son to the palace, if he should come in her absence. Evidently, the chorus could not act as an escort to Xerxes, if he was to enter upon a stage, while they were in the orchestra.

At verse 598, Atossa returns with the offerings in honor of her husband. The chorus participate with her in offering the libation (623ff.)² The tomb of Darius, therefore, was near to both Atossa and the chorus, a fact that is further shown by the words of the ghost (684): *λεῖψσων δ' ἀχοῖτιν τὴν ἐμὴν τάφου πέλας*, and (686): *ὅρμεις δὲ θρηγέειτ' ἐγγὺς ἐστῶτες τάφου*. The presence of Darius in the orchestra is shown by the dread of the chorus to speak in his presence. They say (694f.): *σέβομαι μὲν προσιδέσθαι, | σέβομαι δ' ἀντία λέξαι*. Darius, after conversing with the chorus for twenty-two verses (681-702), turns to Atossa and bids her speak (703ff.) The conversation then is between Darius and Atossa, and extends to v. 784, when he again addresses the cho-

1 Page 89 above. 2 Cf. Pickard, p. 202.

rus: ἐμοὶ ξυνήλυσεν (784). This turning, first to one, then to the other, plainly indicates that all were together.

The chorus (671ff.) call Darius from the lower world. He appears at verse 681, and at once addresses the chorus, though Atossa is present. The underground passage with a flight of steps leading from it to the center of the orchestra in the theatre at Eretria has been described.¹ No such passage has been discovered at Athens, but the inference is strong that such a passage existed there, and that by means of it the ghost of Darius entered in the present instance, for, if the entrance had been to the stage upon which Atossa was standing, the first words of the ghost would naturally have been addressed to her, not to the chorus. Atossa, in the text, is not recognized by the ghost till v. 703.

At verse 1038, Xerxes says to the chorus: πρὸς δόμους δ' ἵθι, and he repeats the command at v. 1068: ἐς δόμους χίε. The play closes with the words of the chorus (1076): πέλψω τοὶ σε δυσθρόους γόους, with which words Xerxes and the chorus leave the theatre together.

No scenery was needed for this play. The δόμος evidently was not in the background. When Atossa enters at v. 598, presumably she came from her house, and this was so far away that she might have come on her chariot; else she would not have specified that she had come without it. At the close of the play, when the chorus was ordered to lead to the δόμος, the command was evidently not to lead to a δόμος in the background. This play required only an orchestra upon which both actors and chorus stood.

¹ Cf. p. 87 above.

Seven Against Thebes

The play opens with the words *Καὶ δὲ πολλοὶ τῶν πολέων*. That Eteocles is here addressing many of the citizens is evident from his words:

Seven
against Thebes

ἡμᾶς δὲ χροὶ νόον, καὶ τὸν ἐλλείποντ' ἔτι
ἡμῶν ἀκμαίας καὶ τὸν ἐξήκον χροὶ νόον
πόλει τ' ἀρῆγεν x. τ. λ. (10, 11, 14).

and ἀλλ' ἔς τ' ἐπάλξεις καὶ πόλιν πυργωμάτων
ὀρμᾶσθε πάντες, σωσθε σὺν παντευχίᾳ
πληροῦτε θωραξείᾳ x. τ. λ. (30-33).

The question may fairly be asked whether all these persons would not have more than filled the stage.

In several places the choreutæ are represented as clinging to the altars. At v. 96f., they say: *ἀκμαίει βρετέων | ἐχέσθαι*; at v. 211f.: *ἀλλ' ἐπὶ δαιμόνων προδρόμος ἡλθον ἀρ- | χαία*, and at v. 258 Eteocles says to them: *παλινστροφίῃς αὐθιγὰς αὐθιγὰς ἀγαλμάτων*. These altars were, of course, in the orchestra. But Eteocles also prays to the tutelary deities (69ff.); he must have been near to the altars at that time, and, therefore, he was in the orchestra.¹

At the close of the play, the chorus in two divisions leave the theatre, one division as an escort to the body of Polynices, the other as an escort to that of Eteocles, cf. 1068ff. It is reasonable to believe that Antigone and Ismene accompanied the bodies of their brothers (cf. the conversation between Antigone and the herald, vs. 1026-53); and to do this it was necessary that they make their exit from the orchestra.

The scenery of this play is simple, yet more extensive than that of either of the two preceding plays. There were present many altars, as already noted, and there was represented also the acropolis of Thebes, *τὰνδ' ἐς ἀκρόπολιν | τίμιον ἔδος, ἱερὸν* (240f.).

Prometheus Vincit

This is the first of the plays of Æschylus to require much scenery; and it requires more than any stage could accommodate. The scene represents a tract of land, *οἶνον* (2); a wilderness, *ἄβροτον ἐρημίαν* (2); a cheerless rock, *ἀτερεπὴ πέτραν* (31); crags, *πέτραις* (56).

Prometheus
Vincit

1 Cf. Pickard, p. 203f.

To these crags Prometheus was fastened by mighty force, ἐγχα-
ταῖ σθέλει (55).

The chorus at v. 128 enters on its winged chariot, and remains in it till, at the request of Prometheus (272), it states its intention of alighting upon the ὀκριώσση χθονί (282). It is evident that during the time of speaking these verses (128-282) the chariot, with the choreutæ within it, was not suspended in the air. They state in v. 130 that they have come τῶνδε πάγον; Prometheus asks them to gaze upon his fetters (141ff.); and this they do (144ff.). If the car containing the chorus was not in the orchestra, it was resting upon the stage; yet the rock upon which Prometheus was bound must have occupied so much of the stage that there would not have remained sufficient room for this winged chariot.

At v. 282, the chorus say that they will alight upon the jagged ground. Haigh¹ here understands that at this point the chorus descend to the orchestra. The words of the verse are: ὀκριώσση χθονί τῶνδε πελῶ. There is nothing in these words to imply that the chorus descended from stage to orchestra; nor has anything been said in the text implying that the orchestra was ὀκριώσις—i. e., granting that the action took place on the stage. It was the latter that was ὀκριώσις. If, then, up to this point the choreutæ have been on the stage, the verse means that the choreutæ alight from their car upon the rocky surface of the stage. Before the intention of the chorus to alight is more than spoken, Oceanus enters (284) on winged steed; and thus a horse and rider are to be added to the numbers present on the already overcrowded stage.

At vs. 1058ff., Hermes warns the Oceanidæ to withdraw from the spot, lest the thunder smite them. This they refuse to do, and, after protestations of sympathy for the sufferer, finally meet their doom together with him. On the assumption that Prometheus was on a stage, and the chorus in the orchestra, there is difficulty in understanding how both actor and chorus were made to disappear; but, if we believe that the position of both the Titan and his sympathizing chorus was the floor of

¹ A. T., p. 152f.

that ancient orchestra, the southern side of which was several feet higher than the ground,¹ there is less difficulty in understanding how actor and chorus were caused to disappear.

Agamemnon

In the background was the palace of the Atreidæ, *στῆλγης Ἀτρεϊδῶν* (3). In the speech that opens the play, the watchman states that on the roof of this palace he has kept watch for a year. The roof of the proscenium would have afforded a more suitable place upon which to keep so long a watch, than would a distegia of three feet in depth.

Agamemnon

The herald, v. 524, cautions the chorus to warmly welcome Agamemnon on his arrival: *εὖ νῦν ἀσπιάσασθε*; and in verse 601 Clytemnestra states it as her intention to welcome back her husband: *σπεύσω πάλεν μάλιστα δεξιῶσθαι*. As he is, thus, to be welcomed by both actor and chorus, we may expect him to come to a place common to both actor and chorus. He arrives (782) in his chariot, and we need not doubt that he entered the orchestra. The chorus in saluting the king states its desire not to fall short in showing him affection, *καίρῳ χάριτος* (787). This affection would have seemed rather a cold one, if the king had been high above the chorus, on a stage.

At verse 906, the queen invites Agamemnon to alight, and (908f.) calls upon her attendants to spread tapestry for him to tread upon. If this action took place upon the stage, there were upon the stage a chariot, the attendants of Clytemnestra, the attendants of the king, for, though no such persons are mentioned, a king would not have come unattended, besides the queen herself, and space upon which to spread the tapestry.

At the cry of Agamemnon, after he has received his death-blow, the chorus exclaims (1350): *ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοξεῖ*. Such a sentiment as this would not have been expressed if there had been a difficult ascent to climb in order to reach the palace; nor, in this case, would the verb used have been *ἐμπεσεῖν*. Some verb expressing ascent would have been used.

When Clytemnestra re-appears, she points out to the chorus

¹ Cf. p. 91 above.

the body of the slain king, with the words: οὐτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἔμους | πόσις, νεκρός δὲ (1404f.). We can easily believe that at this time the chorus surrounded the dead body, (cf. their lamentations 1489ff. and 1513ff.). Likewise, while the chorus and Cassandra are carrying on the long conversation (1053-1330), we naturally think of the chorus as gathered around the captive. Cf. their pity expressed, οὐκ ἔρω σε, 1321.

The scene in which occur the threats of Ægistheus and the chorus would have lost all force if Ægistheus had been raised on a stage above the chorus. The chorus says (1651): εἴα δῆ, ξίφος πρύκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπεῖέτω, to which Ægistheus replies (1652): ἀλλὰ μὲν καὶ πρύκωπος οὐκ ἀναίνυται θανεῖν.

Chæphori

To the palace in the background there are numerous references: δόμων (22), πύλας (561), θύρας (652), δόμων (712), δόμοις (885). At the opening of the play, Orestes is sitting at the tomb of his father, τέρμους (4). At v. 22 the chorus enter announcing that they have come as an escort to the libation. They went, therefore, to the tomb. Orestes, then, at the opening of the play was in the orchestra. Since Electra entered with the chorus, she also went to the tomb in the orchestra. At v. 149, Electra pours the libation, and the chorus participate by chanting as the offering is made, doubtless surrounding the tomb as they do so.¹

After the murder of Ægistheus, Orestes displays the robe in which Ægistheus was captured, and says to the chorus [983f.]: ἐχτείνωτ' αὐτὸ καὶ κίχλω παρασταδόν | στέγαστρον ἀνδρός δέξασθ', and with these words we may understand that he handed the robe to the chorus.

Eumenides

The chorus (140ff.) rush from the temple of Apollo in search of Orestes. At v. 179, Apollo says to the chorus: ἔξω, κελεῖω, τῶνδ'ε δωμάτων τᾶχος | χωρεῖτ'. We may, therefore, infer that they lingered near the temple.

¹ Cf. Capps, p. 45. The fact that Electra and the chorus were together during this libation convinced Hermann that the tomb was on the margin of the stage. De re scen. in Æsch. Orest., p. 9: "Non est dubitandum quin sepulcrum Agamemnonis in margine proscenii sit."

At vs. 244ff., the chorus of Furies are searching for Orestes. They must have entered the theatre by the same route by which he had entered. Their words are:

Εἶεν' τὸδ' ἐστὶ τάνδρ' οὐδ' ἐκφανέες τέκμαρ'
 ἔπαισι δὲ μηχανήσας ἀφ' ἡμέχτων φραδαῖς.
 τετραυματισμένον γὰρ ὡς χύων νεβρόν
 πρὸς αἶμα καὶ σταλαγμὸν ἐκματεύομεν.

That the Furies search in all places where Orestes would be likely to be is shown by their words (255f.):

ὄρα ὄρα μάλ' αὖθις κεύσσει τε πάντα, μὴ
 λάθῃ φύγῃ βᾶς ματροφόνος ἀτίτας.

He is at last found at the altar of Athena: *περὶ βρέττει πλεχθεὶς θεᾶς ἀμβρότου* (259). The chorus, thus, in this search scene are on the stage, if there was a stage.

At the trial scene, we may believe that all the participants were together. The Furies, as prosecutors of Orestes, would naturally be near him. The judges, the men of the Areopagus, would not be separated from either plaintiff or defendant. Besides these, there were present Apollo, Athena, who presided, the servants of the temple, who at the close of the play led the procession, and altars, of Earth (2), of Themis (2), and of Athena (446). There was room for this trial scene only in the orchestra.

At the close of the play, Athena says (1003f.): *προτέραν δ' ἐμὲ χρῆ | στείχειν θαλάμους ἀποδείξουσιν*. At the head of the procession proper are the servants of the temple with lighted torches, (cf. 1005): *πρὸς φῶς ἱερὸν τῶνδε προπομπῶν*. Next in the procession come the Areopagites, who are followed by the Eumenides, (cf. 1010f.):

ὅμεις δ' ἡγεῖσθε, πολισσοῦχοι
 παῖδες Κραναιῶν ταῖσδε μετοίκους.

It seems highly improbable that the splendor of this closing scene was marred by having different parts of the procession leave the theatre on different levels.

SOPHOCLES—*Ajax*

When the chorus returned from their search for Ajax (866), as they were still searching for him, it is only reasonable to suppose that they looked in the places where he would likely be. The search

Ajax

continued till Tecmessa found him (891). That the chorus roamed for so long a time on the stage is not probable, nor is it probable that Tecmessa was searching on one elevation, and the chorus on another. The extent of the place in which the search occurs is shown by the circumstances of the finding of Ajax. Tecmessa finds the body, and exclaims: *ὦ μοί μοί* (891.) The cry is heard by the chorus, but at first they do not see Tecmessa (892). Finally they cry: *ἀόσμαιμον νόρμην ὄρω* (894.) The search for Ajax then takes place in the orchestra.

At v. 984 Teucer asks where the son of Ajax is. The chorus reply (985) that he is in the tent. Teucer says (986): *ὅγ' ἀπὸν ἄξεισ' αἰετοί*. Though the order is not executed, it would not have been given if great difficulty had stood in the way of its execution. Finally, the boy comes from the tent (1168); Teucer takes him to the corpse of his father (1172), and intending himself to depart, in order to prepare for the burial of Ajax, he commends him to the care of the chorus. Cf. 1182f.:

*ὅμεις τε νυ γυναικες ἀντ' ἀνδρῶν πέλας
παρέστατ', ἀλλ' ἀρήγετ'.*

It is evident that during this scene chorus and actors were together.

At v. 329 Tecmessa says to the chorus: *ἀμύξαιτ' εἰσελθόντες*. They do not obey the command, yet they go very near to the tent. At v. 344 the chorus ask Tecmessa to open the door, and at v. 346 she opens it, adding: *προσβλέπειν δ' ἔξεστί σοι*. At v. 354f. the chorus comment on what they see within the tent, and at v. 361 they are so near Ajax that he even commands them to slay him. In this scene, then, the chorus is on the stage, if there was a stage.

The play closes with a procession, in which all leave the theatre together. References have been made to the burial of Ajax, cf. 1413ff., where Teucer says: *ἀλλ' ἄγε παῖς, φίλος ὅστις ἀνὴρ | φησὶ παρῆναι, σπύσθω, βάτω, | τῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν ποσσὶν τῶ παντ' ἀγαθῶ.*

Antigone

When Ismene enters, she approaches so near to the chorus that they notice closely her troubled countenance. Cf. 526ff.:

Antigone

καὶ μὲν πρὸ πολλῶν ἦδ' Ἰσμήνη,
φιλάδελφα καὶ τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐνδορμένῃ·
νεφέλῃ δ' ὁφρῶν ὁππρὶ αἰματῶν
βέβητος αἰσχρύνει,
τρίγυρσ' ἐνὸπια παριάν.

When Creon enters with the lifeless body of his son, the chorus are the first to see his approach, and his first words are to them. Cf. 1261ff.:

ὅσ' φρεσὶν ὀφρῶν ἡμαρτηματα
στεινὰ θανατύνει·
ὅς' κτανόντας τε καὶ
θανόντας βλέποντας ἐμφυλίσσας.

How near the chorus at this time drew to the body of Hæmon, it is impossible to say, but it is only natural to believe that they actually surrounded it.

At the conclusion of the play, Creon says (1339):

ἄγχιτ' ἂν μάλιστα ἄνδρ' ἐκποδῶν

Creon has been conversing with the chorus since v. 1317, and the command we may believe is addressed to them, and that with the closing words of the chorus vs. 1347-1353, chorus and actors leave the theatre together.

Electra

The sympathy that the chorus felt for Electra was so great that we do not naturally think of them as separated from her in position. This sympathy is displayed in the conversation that takes place between them vs. 121-327. At v. 130 Electra calls the chorus her solace (*παράρρητος*), at v. 229, her comforters (*παράγοροι*). During vs. 804-874 Electra and the chorus are again alone, the chorus here (cf. 828 ff.) trying to comfort Electra. At v. 1204 Orestes would speak in their presence, if convinced of their friendliness, and at v. 1204 Electra assures her brother that they are friendly.

Electra (Soph.)

When the attendant arrives (660), he addresses his first words to the chorus, asking whether he is at the palace of the king. Clytemnestra is at the time present. Had the attendant entered on a stage, on which an actor was present, he would not have directed his first words to the chorus. Similarly, when Orestes arrives (1098), he addresses the chorus first, though Electra is present. In the latter instance, after the chorus (1102) have assured Orestes that he is at the palace of Ægistheus, Orestes asks them, v. 1103 f.:

τίς ὅν ἂν ὁμῶν τοῖς ἔσω φράσειεν ἂν
 ἡμῶν ποθεινὴν χοινόπουν παρουσίαν;

It is evident from this question that it would not have been difficult for a member of the chorus to go from orchestra to palace. It is true that no member of the chorus actually does go into the palace, but, as in all the instances where the chorus is ordered to enter, or deliberates doing so, the failure to enter the palace can in no way be construed as evidence that there were steps to climb, in order to reach it. The fact that it is suggested that they enter is sufficient evidence that to do so is not unusual, or difficult. In none of the cases that occur of a deliberated or an ordered entrance, is there any suggestion of difficulty, or any verb used implying that an ascent would have to be made. In the present instance, the chorus turn to Electra, and (1106) bid her go within the palace; but she also fails to go. It could not be claimed that her failure was due to the difficulty of reaching the palace.

Œdipus Tyrannus

When the chorus bow as suppliants before the king (40f.), and, again, when they prostrate themselves before the priest (327), we may believe that chorus and actors were not separated. The priest assumes that the suppliants were with him: (ὦ παῖδες, ἱστῶμεσθα, 147).¹ At the close of a long conversation (988-1045) between Œdipus and the messenger, suddenly the messenger addresses the chorus (1046), and then Œdipus addresses them (1047), as bystanders: ὁμῶν τῶν παρεστώτων πέλας. This freedom of conversa-

¹ Pickard, p. 211.

tion implies closeness of position. Had the messenger (924) entered upon a stage, inasmuch as Jocasta was standing there, he would not have directed his first words to the chorus.

Though nothing in the context leads us to think that the chorus ascended from orchestra to stage, they were there, if there was a stage, when Œdipus ordered them to take him away, and when he ordered them to touch him. Cf. 1340 f.:

ἀπάγετ' ἐκτόπιον ὅτι τᾶχισταί με,
ἀπάγετ', ὦ φίλοι, τὸν ὀλεθρὸν μέγαν, and 1410ff.:
ὅπως τᾶχιστα πρὸς θεῶν ἔξω μέπω
καλῶσατ' ἢ φωνεήσατ' ἢ θαλάσσιον
ἐκρίψατ', ἔνθα μὲ ποτ' εἰσόμεσθ' ἔτι.
ἴτ', ἀξιώσατ' ἀνδρὸς ἀθλήων θιγέειν.

Also Creon orders the chorus to take Œdipus away. Cf. 1429:

ἀλλ' ὡς τᾶχιστος εἰς οἶκον ἐσχομίζεσθε.

Œdipus Coloneus

The scene of this play was the grove of the Eumenides, ἄλσος ἐν θεῶν (10), ἄλσος (98), in which were the bay, the olive, the vine (17). Into this grove Antigone (Œdipus Coloneus) had conducted her father. At the entrance of the citizen of Coloneus, Œdipus retired from the sacred grove (36ff.). If, at this time, he was on the stage, as the grove must have occupied the greater part of it, we must believe that he withdrew to one end of it; and we must believe, also, that all the actors in the play stood at one end of the stage, for they, also, would not tread on hallowed ground. If this was the case, it is difficult to see where the attendants of Creon stood (723), or now Ismene entered on horseback (324).

After the chorus have ordered Œdipus to withdraw from the grove, the following conversation takes place (178, 180 f.):

Œd.: προβῶ; Chorus: ἐπίθωνε πόρσω.

Œd.: ἔτι; Chorus: προβίθ' αἴζε, χώρα, | πόρσω.

Such a movement as that could have taken place only in the orchestra.

When the chorus enter, they search for Œdipus, προσδέχου, λεῖδ' ὅσ' ἐν, | προσπεύθου πανταχῇ they say (121f.). If they looked 'every where' for Œdipus, they must have looked for him on the stage; yet nothing indicates that they make an ascent.

In two instances, actors on entering direct their first words to the chorus, though other actors are present, viz: Theseus at v. 1500, though Œdipus is present, and Creon at v. 728, though Antigone and Œdipus are present. It would have been entirely unnatural in these instances for Theseus and Creon to enter on a stage, on which were other actors, and yet direct their first words to the chorus.

The nearness of position of chorus and actors is shown by the fact that Œdipus calls the chorus his allies (815); Œdipus trusts them (175), and they say that nobody shall take him away (176 f.): they will protect him (491). Antigone also is counselled to protect her father (508). At v. 803 Œdipus refers to the chorus as 'τοῦσδε τοὺς πέλεις'. Creon says (832) that he is taking away his own [Antigone and Ismene]; The chorus threaten him (834 f.); Creon bids them take their hands from him (836), and this they refuse to do (836). The chorus repeats its command (838 f.) Antigone is being dragged away (843). Creon again forbids the chorus to touch him (856), but they persist in defending Antigone (881), and, finally, they see Theseus and his attendants approaching, and cry to them to hasten to the rescue (884 f.) There is no reason to think that in this scene the chorus is on the stage. The action, therefore, took place in the orchestra.

Philoctetes

No Greek stage was large enough to accommodate the scenes represented in this play. The scene represents a shore (1), a cavern with double entrance (16), a fountain (21). So extensive is the place that, at the moment, Ulysses does not see the cavern (28). Neoptolemus tells Ulysses that the cavern is above them (29), and so near to it is he that he discovers trodden leaves within it (33). Evidently, a path leads to the cavern (22). At v. 1262 Neoptolemus speaks of the cavern as 'rocky.'

At v. 29 Neoptolemus hears no sound within the tent; at v. 207 the chorus hear Philoctetes crawling, *ἔρποντος*. At v. 861 the chorus describe the look on the face of Philoctetes; at v. 866 Neoptolemus notices that he is moving his eye. In these instances chorus and actor are equally near to the tent.

The chorus, in this play, have a part to perform that is the same as that of Neoptolemus and Ulysses: we therefore expect to find no separation in position. At v. 48 Neoptolemus says that Philoctetes is approaching, and that the path shall be watched [by him]. At vs. 150ff. the chorus speak of their duty of watching for the coming of Philoctetes, adding their fear lest he approach to them unobserved. It is clear, then, that Philoctetes was to approach to a position occupied by both chorus and Neoptolemus.

At v. 825 Neoptolemus brings the chorus into the action with himself; ἀλλ' ἐλάσωμεν, φίλοι, he says. When Philoctetes vents his rage (927-962), the chorus reply (963), τί ὀρωμεν; two other actors being present at the time. When Philoctetes appears (219), his opening words are to both chorus and Neoptolemus (cf. ξένου 219).

The possibility of personal contact between chorus and actor is clearly implied when, in order to prevent the execution of the threat of Philoctetes to cast himself from a rock (1001f), Ulysses commands the chorus to lay hold of him (1003). This same possibility is implied in the conversation between Philoctetes and the chorus (1174-1205). Here Philoctetes fears that the chorus may take him back to Troy (1174f.); the chorus reply (1176) that they may do so; Philoctetes orders them to leave him (1177). As they move away, intending to go to the ships (1180), he calls them back again (1184f.); he repeats the invitation to return (1190), adding that he would make but one request of them (1203), that they give him an axe, or a sword, or some other weapon (1204f.)

At the close of the play, all leave the theatre together with the words of the chorus: χωρῶμεν δὲ πάντες ἀολκείῃς (1469).

Trachiniae

If the actors were on the stage, in this play, they did not have very much room for action, for there were present many maids (202f.), and many others of the train of Hercules (299f.).

Trachiniae

At 964ff. the chorus see the body of Hercules being brought in. This body was evidently brought into the orchestra, for

the chorus are so near to it that they notice that it is speechless. Furthermore, it is a sympathizing chorus, shuddering at the fate of Hercules (1044 ff.)

The sympathy existing between Deianira and the chorus was such that we would not expect them to be separated. She comes forth (531ff.) to tell them her woes in private (*λάθρα* 533); and again she tells them her woes (663ff.). Twice she calls the chorus her friends (298, 531); and it was not likely that she would tell the chorus (594ff.) her plans in the presence of the herald, with the injunction to keep them secret, unless she was in the orchestra so close to them that the herald could not hear what the plans were.¹

EURIPIDES—*Alcestis*

The chorus are near to the house of Alcestis, for they notice (86f. that there is no wailing, or beating of hands within the house; that there is no water before the gates (100); and that there is no shorn hair in the vestibule (101).

In the funeral procession, it is inconceivable that the body and chief mourners leave on one level, while the principal part of the procession leaves on another. Admetus, in addressing the chorus, says (422ff.):

ἀλλ' ἐκφορὸν γὰρ τοῦδε θέσθαι ναιεῶν,
πάρεστε καὶ μένοντες ἀτελέσαστε.

παῖδ' αὖ τῷ κάτωθεν ἀσπίδ' ὀφεί; and, again,

(606ff.): ἀδερῶν Φεραιῶν ἑταίρ' ἐκ παλαιῆς
ἔχον μὲν ἔθ' ἐπὶ πάντ' ἔχοντα πρόσπολοι
φέρουσιν ἄρ' ἄν' εἰς τάφον τε καὶ πύργον
ὅστις αἰετὸς θανάσιον, ὡς νομίζεται,
προσείπατ' ἐξισόσαν ὁσάτ' ἔθ' ὁδόν. and, again,

(740): στείχουσιν, ὡς αὖ ἐν πυρὶ θάψαν ναιεῶν.

On the return, Admetus says (861): ἰὼ, στοργαὶ πρόσπολοι, and the chorus say (872): πρόσθ' αὖ πρόσθ' βᾶθι κ' ὁδοῦς οἴκων. The chorus and Admetus leave the orchestra together, and together they return into the orchestra.²

1 Pickard, p. 212f. 2 Cf. Capps, p. 14f.

Medea

The sympathy existing between Medea and the chorus was such that we would not expect them to be separated from each other. At v. 1116 she calls them her friends (*φίλοι*), just as at v. 138 they had spoken of her family as friendly (*φίλοι*). In the conversation in which Jason, Medea, and the chorus take part (866ff.), both the chorus and Medea are moved to tears. Cf. 905f.

Medea

The chorus (180ff.) tell the nurse to bring Medea from the palace. We may naturally infer that she was to be brought to the place where the chorus were. The words of the chorus were: *ἀλλὰ βᾶσθ' ἐν | δούρῳ πῶρευσον οἶκον | ἔζεσθαι*. At v. 820 Medea says to the chorus: *ἀλλ' εἰς χῶρεν καὶ κήρυξ' ἰάσασθαι*, and that one of the chorus actually did go to the house for Jason may be inferred from the latter's first words on entering (866): *ἔγω καλεσθεῖς*.

When Medea is about to kill her children, the chorus meditate entering the house (cf. 1275, *παρὶ κῆρυ δόμον*), and the sons call to them to come to their aid (cf. 1277, *ναί, πρὸς θνήσκον ἀρχίζατ'*). The chorus, at this time, were standing near the house, as may be inferred from Jason's words (1293): *γυναῖκες αἱ τῆσδ' ἑγγυὲς ἵσταται στήλης*.

Hippolytus

Phædra says to the chorus in vs. 575ff.:

ἀποκρίνεσθαι, ταῖσδ' ἱππιάσθαι πίκταις.

ἀκούσανθ' οἷος ἑλκιδος ἐν δόμον πύται,

Hippolytus

to which the chorus reply, v. 577f.:

σὺν παρὰ κλῆθρα σὺν βέλει πομπήν

φάτις δογμάτων.

There is, in neither the order nor the reply, any intimation that the chorus would be obliged to make an ascent in order to reach the house.

When Phædra hangs herself, the nurse asks the chorus to render aid: *βοηθησάτω πάντες αἱ πύλας δόμων* (777). The chorus deliberate whether they shall enter the house. Cf. 782f.:

φίλοι, τί δρῶμεν; ἢ δοκεῖ πύλιν δόμον

ἔσοι τ' ἀνασσαν ἢ ἐπισπαστὴν βρόχον;

The words of the nurse, v. 786f. show them that it is too late for them to be of assistance, so they do not enter the house.

When Theseus arrives, he addresses the chorus (790): *γυναῖκες ἴστε τίς ποτ' ἐν δόμοις βιώη;* to which they reply (804): *τοσούτων ἴσμεν ἄρτι γὰρ καὶ ὧ δόμοις.* From this we may infer that, though they did not enter, they approached near to the house.

Hippolytus was certainly not on the stage, when he asked the chorus to conduct him away. Cf. 1098f.:

ἔτ', ὦ νέοι μοι τῆσδε γῆς ὁμῆλεις,
προσεπίπαθ' ἡμᾶς καὶ προπέμψατε χθονόως.

Andromache

A stage would not have been large enough to contain the shrine of Thetis, at which Andromache was sitting at the opening of the play. It is referred to by several different names: *ἀγαλμα* (115), *ἀγαλὸν ἔδραν* (135), *δῶμα Νηρηΐδους τῶδε* | *ὃ βωμὸς ὠδὲ ναός* (161f.). It could not have been in the background, for the palace was there; it was, therefore, in the orchestra.¹

At vs. 879f. the chorus announce that Orestes is coming toward them (*πρὸς ἡμᾶς*, 880). When he arrives his first words are to the chorus (881f.). He states that he is present to learn concerning Hermione (cf. 887ff.). Hermione is herself present, and answers him (891ff.). He, thus, does not observe Hermione, till ten verses after his arrival. This scene is rendered clear, only on the assumption that the chorus see Orestes coming toward them over the parodos, and that he sees them before he sees Hermione, and, therefore, addresses them first. When Peleus enters, v. 547, his first words are to both chorus and Menelaus: *ὅμᾶς ἔρωτῶ τὸν τε κ. τ. λ.*

The sympathy that the chorus feel for Andromache may induce us to believe that they were not separated from her. (Cf. *οἰκτροτάτα*, 141; *ᾗ κτεϊρ'*, 421).

The nurse requests the chorus to enter the palace and render aid: *ὁμῆϊς δὲ βᾶσαι τῶνδε δωματων ἔσω* (817). The entrance of Hermione makes it unnecessary for the chorus to obey the command, yet, if to do so had involved either difficulty or ascent, it is natural to believe that something in the text would have so implied.

¹ Pickard, p. 278.

Heracleidæ

At vs. 69f. Iolaus calls on the chorus to defend the sons of Hercules: ὦ τᾶς Ἀθήνας δαρὸν οἰκοῦντες χρόνον | ἀνέ-
νεθ'. Copreus threatens, despite the protests of Demophoon, to drag away these children: τοῦσ-
δε δ' οὐκ ἄξις ποτέ (252; cf. also 253ff.). The chorus order Co-
preus to depart. Cf. 273:

Heracleidæ

ἄπελθε· καὶ σὺ τοῦδε μὴ θίγῃς, ἀναξ,

whereupon, Copreus replies that he yields to their numbers (274): στεῖχον· μῆδ' γὰρ χειρὸς ἀσθενὲς μάχη. It is evident that the chorus could not have thus inspired Copreus with fear, if they had not been near to him.

The children were certainly near to the choreutæ, when Iolaus ordered them to extend to the choreutæ their hands, and the choreutæ to extend theirs to the children. Cf. 307f.:

δοῦτ', ὦ τέκν', αὐτοῖς χεῖρα θεξίαν δότε,
ἡμεῖς τε παῖσι, καὶ πέλας προσέλθετε.

When Iolaus saw Copreus coming, he called to the children, (vs. 48f.): ὦ τέκνα τέκνα, δεῦρον, λαμβάνεσθ' ἐμῶν | πέπλων. It is evident that they then took their seat at the altar. Cf. 61:

ὦ δῆτ', ἐπεὶ μοι βωμὸς ἀρξέσει θεοῦ.

At v. 344. Iolaus asserts that they will remain at this altar. We may believe, therefore, that, when they extended hands to the choreutæ, they rose from their seats and approached the choreutæ who were standing near them.

Supplices

At v. 10 the chorus are surrounding Æthra as suppliants: ἐκτῆρι θαλλῷ προσπίτνουσ' ἐμὸν γόνυ. If, at this time, the chorus are on the stage, they remain there till v. 359, or during more than one-fourth of the play. Cf. 359f.: ἀλλ' ὦ γεραῖα, σέμν' ἀφαιρεῖτε στέφη | μητρούς. On this assumption, they sang the long ode (42-86) on the stage. At no place is mention made of their descending into the orchestra. At v. 279 they are evidently near to Theseus. Cf. 277f.:

Supplices (Eurip.)

πρὸς σε γενεάδος, ὦ φίλος, ὦ δοκιμώτατος Ἑλλάδι,
ἀντημαὶ ἡμφιπίτνουσα τὸ σὸν γόνυ καὶ χεῖρα δεῖλαία.

At v. 811ff. Adrastus orders the bodies of the slain to be

brought in. At v. 815ff. the chorus, who are the mothers of the dead, ask that the bodies of the children be placed in their arms, and their request is granted.¹

At v. 941 Adrastus orders the mothers to draw nigh to their children; this Theseus opposes (942ff.), and Adrastus then promises the mothers that they shall at last receive the bones of their sons: ὅταν δὲ τοῦσδε προσθῶμεν πυρί, | ὅστ' ἂν προσάξουσθ' (948f.). These bones they see brought in at v. 1114f., and receive them from the boy that brings them: φέρ', ἀμφὶ μαστῶν ὀπιβάλλω σποδόν (1160).

At the close of the play, v. 1232, the chorus say, στείχωμεν Ἄδρασθ', and with those words chorus and actors leave the theatre together.

Hecuba

Hecuba enters with the chorus saying (59ff.):

Hecuba

ἄγετ', ὦ παῖδες, τήν γραῶν πρὸ δόμων,
ἄγετ' ὀρθοῦσαι τήν ὁμόδουλον,
Τρωάδες, ἥμιν, πρόσθ' ὃ' ἀνασσαν
λάβετε φέρετε πέμπετ' ἀείρετε μου
γεραιῶς χειρὸς προσλαζόμεναι.

Hecuba, thus, enters the orchestra, and it was entirely appropriate that she who was a captive should appear in the immediate company of the chorus, who were composed of captive women.

Talthybius enters at v. 484, and addresses the chorus asking where he may find Hecuba. The chorus reply that she is lying on the ground near him: αἴτη πέλας σου νῶτ' ἔχουσ' ἐπὶ χθονί (486). If Talthybius had entered on the stage, on which Hecuba was lying, he must certainly have seen her, and his question to the chorus would have been superfluous. Assuming that he entered the orchestra, we can easily believe that Hecuba, as she lay on the ground, was for the moment hidden from his view by the members of the chorus.

The chorus deliberate entering the tent: βιώλυσθ' ἐπεισπέσωμεν; (1042), but the appearance of Hecuba makes it unnecessary for them to do so.

1 Cf. Capps, p. 44f.

At v. 1056 Polymnestor comes forth blinded and maddened. Hecuba has previously (1054f.) expressed her intention of fleeing from him. It would, however, seem to be a difficult task to find a safe retreat from a maddened man on a small stage. Polymnestor wanders in all directions (1056ff.), till, finally, he hears the concealed steps of the women of the chorus: (*ζυρπτάν βῆσαν αἰσθάνομαι | τάνδε γυναικῶν* 1070f.). He is now in the orchestra, though no mention has been made of his descending a flight of steps, which, in fact, would not be an easy task for a blind and enraged man. The evident explanation is that when Hecuba fled from Polymnestor she withdrew to a remote part of the orchestra. The chorus also fled from Polymnestor, and after he had roamed over all parts of the orchestra, he came upon them (1070), as they were treading with muffled step.

At the close of the play, all leave the orchestra together. Agamemnon says (1288f.):

δεσποτῶν δ' ὁμᾶς χρεῶν

σχηναῖς πελάζειν, Τρωάδεις and the chorus reply,

vs. 1293ff.: *ἔτε πρὸς λιμένας σχηναῖς τε, φίλαι,*

τῶν δεσποσύνων περιεσώμεναι | μόχθων

Hercules Furens

The chorus are near enough to the children of Hercules to notice that the color of their eyes resembles that of their father's (130ff.). The chorus will defend the children (261f.). We may, therefore, believe that the chorus were near to the children.

When Hercules arrives, he finds his children in the midst of a crowd of men: *ὄχλῳ ἐν ἀνδρῶν* (527), and he states his intention of drawing nigh to them (529). As, before this, no mention has been made of a crowd of men, we may believe that Hercules found his children close by the chorus.

At v. 747f. the chorus say:

ἀλλ' ὃ γεραιέ, καὶ τὰ δωμάτων ἔσω

σκοπῶμεν.

At v. 761 they express their intention to withdraw, and at v. 763 they begin a choral ode. It is evident, therefore, that the chorus did not mount the stage, for, on that assumption, we should be obliged to think either that the time of speaking a

single verse was all that they required for passing from the stage to their positions in the orchestra, or else that they began the choral ode before reaching the orchestra. Either of these suppositions is improbable. The chorus, then, merely moved toward the wall of the proscenium. There is no evidence that they saw what was taking place within the house.

At v. 1031 the chorus have again approached the house, and this time they see many things that are within it. Amphitryon orders them to withdraw, that Hercules may continue sleeping (1042ff.); he tells them to withdraw still further (1047ff.). This they do, and are no longer able to see what is within the house, for, while at v. 1034 they notice that Hercules is sleeping, after withdrawing from the house they say to Amphitryon (1060) 'εἶδεν·'

Ion

Creusa calls the chorus her faithful servants: (δοῦλεσσι πιστόν, 748). The chorus declare to Creusa that they desire to share her fate (857f.). With such sympathy existing between Creusa and the chorus, we may believe that they were not separated in position.

Ion says to the chorus, v. 510: *πρόσπολοι γυναικες, αἱ τῶνδ' ἅμ- φ' ἐκ χρηπιδας δόμων;* We may believe, therefore, that the chorus were stationed near to the temple.

The chorus (219ff.) ask Ion whether it is permitted them to enter the temple. At v. 222 he replies that it is not, but in vs. 226ff. tells them the conditions of sacrifice upon which they may enter. We may, therefore, infer that their entering would have been neither difficult nor unexpected.

The entrance of Creusa and the Pedagogue, at v. 725, was evidently by a parodos. They begin speaking at v. 725, and have not approached near enough to the chorus to address them till v. 747. No stage would have been large enough to allow so extended a conversation, while they were walking from one side to the center of it.¹

1. Pickard, p. 282.

Troades

The chorus came from the tent in the background. Cf. 176f.:

οἳ μοι, τρομερά σκηρὰς ἔλιπον
τάσδ' Ἀγαμέμνονος κ. τ. λ.

Talthybius states (296f.) his intention of leading away the captive women:

εἴτα τὰς εἰληγμένας
καὶ ταῖσιν ἄλλοις αἰχμαλωτῶν ἄγω.

In vs. 1266ff. he commands them to go to the ships:

χωρεῖτε Τρώων παῖδες, ὀρθίαν ὅταν
σάλπιγγος ἤχηρ δῶσιν ἀρχηγοὶ στρατοῦ,
πρὸς ναῦς Ἀχαιῶν, ὡς ἀποστέλλεσθε γῆς.

At v. 1269 he commands Hecuba also to go:

σὺ τ', ὦ γεραῖά θυστεχεστάτη γύναι.

These orders are obeyed and chorus and actors leave together. Cf. 1331f.:

ὦν τάλανα πόλιν· ὁμῶς δὲ
πρόφερε πόδα σὺν ἐπὶ πλάτας Ἀχαιῶν.

Helena

The chorus at v. 327 state their desire to go into the palace with Helen: θέλω δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ συνεισελθεῖν δόμους.

Helen in reply, vs. 330f., calls the chorus her friends, and bids them enter the house: βᾶτε βᾶτε

Helena

δ' εἰς δόμους. After the close of this dialogue (385), neither chorus nor Helen appears again till the chorus speaks at v. 515 saying: ἤκουσα τὰς θεσπιωδῶν χώρας. Helen says, v. 528f.:

ἦδ' αὖ τὰ φωνὰς τοῦδ' εἰς ἔδρας ἐγὼ πάλλιν

στείχω, μαθοῦσα θεονόης φίλους λόγους. It is clear, therefore, that Helen and the chorus enter the palace in company.

In another passage, the chorus and an actor are very near each other. At v. 1628, Theoclymenus bids the chorus stand aside. They then refuse to let go his garments (1629). He orders them to let him go (1631). This they refuse to do (1631). Finally they say to him, (vs. 1639f.): κτείνε· σύγγρονον δὲ σὴν | αὐτὸς κτενεῖς ἡμῶν ἐκόντων, ἀλλ' ἔμ·

Iphigenia in Tauris

Iphigenia calls the chorus her attendants (*προσπόλοισιν*, 63), *ἄμωαί* (143), dearest women, (*φίλταται γυναῖκες*, 1056). She beseeches them to keep her plans secret. Cf. 1068ff:

*ἀλλὰ πρὸς σε θεζέας,
σε καὶ σ' ἰκνῶμαι, σε δὲ φίλης παρηγίδους
γονάτων.*

Her she beseeches the members of the chorus individually, even grasping them by the knees.

At v. 342 Iphigenia orders the strangers brought in. The chorus first see them coming (456f.); and at v. 468 Iphigenia orders the chorus to release them from their bonds: *μείνετε τῶν ξένων χεῖρας*.

At v. 470 Iphigenia orders the chorus to go within the temple, and make ready the sacrifice: *ναὶ δ' ἔστω στείχοντες ἐν τρυπέεσσιν*, and a similar command is given at v. 1079: *σὸν ἔργον ἤδη καὶ σὸν εἰσβαίνειν δόμον*.

At v. 636 Iphigenia says that she is going into the temple, and calls upon the chorus to guard the strangers: *φυλάσσετε ἀνθρώπους, πρόσπολοι, δεσμῶν ἄτερ* (638). The chorus could hardly guard those that they were not near to, and especially, as is specified here, when the ones to be guarded were without bonds.

At vs. 159f. Iphigenia is about to pour the libation. The chorus join in this libation with an ode (179ff.). We can hardly believe that at this time chorus and actor are separated. Iphigenia has already (61ff.) stated her intention of offering the libation in company with the chorus.

When Thoas enters (1152), he addresses the chorus asking where he can find Iphigenia. She is herself present, and the chorus so inform him: *ἦθ' ἐστίν, ἦ σοι πάντ' ἀναξ, ἔρπει σαφῶς* (1156). It seems improbable that Thoas here entered on a stage, and asked the whereabouts of a person who was close beside him. On the assumption that he entered the orchestra, his failure to see one among so many persons was entirely natural.

Electra

Electra returns from the spring at v. 112. Orestes is present, yet he is not discovered by his sister till v.

215. Orestes has seen Electra's approach, but Electra
has made no effort to conceal himself (107ff.) It is evident, then, that the entrance of Electra was not upon a stage. During the time of singing the ode (112-166), we may believe that Electra was slowly advancing over the parodos, and through the orchestra. At v. 167 she meets the chorus, who are coming in over the opposite parodos. They then return together conversing, and slowly approach the house, in front of which at v. 215 they discover Orestes sitting. Electra then suggests to the chorus that they flee, she into the house, they over the roadway.¹ On their return together, Electra and the chorus are so near each other that she asks them to look at her locks, and her ragged garments:

σκέψαι μοῦ πινάρων κόμην
καὶ τριχὴν τὰδ' ἐμῶν πέπλων. (184f.)

At the entrance of Clytemnestra on her chariot (988), the chorus first address her, as was natural on the assumption that she entered the orchestra. At v. 1004 Electra comes forward and offers to help her mother alight.

Orestes

On their entrance, the chorus approach near to the palace in front of which Orestes is lying asleep. Electra (136ff.) addressing them as dearest women (Orestes
ταταὶ γυναῖκες) bids them proceed with gentlestep, lest they awake Orestes. The chorus promise quiet, (144). They are so near to Orestes at v. 173 that they notice that he is sleeping, (*δυνώσασσι*). Electra has already ordered them to withdraw (170), and at v. 180 she again orders them to retire from his couch. This time they obey, and at vs. 208f. they request Electra to draw nigh to the couch, in order to see whether her brother still lives. Although this scene could have been acted with a stage five feet in height, with a stage of the Vitruvian

¹ Cf. Capps, p. 21.

height the chorus could not have approached near enough to Orestes to see that he was sleeping.

At v. 356 Menelaus enters, and at vs. 375ff. asks the chorus where Orestes is. The latter is present, and replies (380ff.) to the words of Menelaus. At v. 470 Tyndareus enters, and inquires of the chorus where he can find his son-in-law, Menelaus. The latter is present and replies to the words of Tyndareus. If, in the former instance, the claim should be made that Menelaus asked the chorus for the information he desired, because, although he saw Orestes, he did not recognize him (cf. 377ff.), the claim could hardly be made, in the latter instance, that Tyndareus failed to recognize his son-in-law. The true explanation doubtless is that, as the chorus are the first to see the incoming actors (cf. 348, 456ff.), so, on arriving, the actors see the chorus before seeing other actors present, which would have been possible only on condition of their entering the orchestra. In the case of Menelaus, that he came into the immediate presence of the chorus, is still further shown by his command to them to conduct him to his son, ἄγετέ με (474).

Electra arranges the chorus in two divisions. Cf. 1251f.:

στῆθ' αἰ μὲν ὁμῶν τόνδ' ἀμαζήρη τρίβον,
αἰ δ' ἐνθάδ' ἄλλον οἶκον εἰς φρουράν δόμων.

The arrangement of the chorus here was, no doubt, that one division stood at the entrance of one parodos, the other at the entrance of the other. As they were to be a guard to the house, we may believe that the house was on the level on which they were standing.

For the exciting scene, during the course of which Orestes threatens to kill Hermione, there was not room on the distegia. Orestes says (1578):

μέλλω χτανεῖν σου θυγατέρ', εἰ θούλει μαθεῖν.

Menelaus had already said (1573ff.):

ἔα, τί χρήμα; λαμπάδων ὅρῳ σέλας,
δόμων δ' ἐπ' ἄκρων τοῦσδε ποργυρομένους,
ξίφος δ' ἐμῆς θυγατρὸς ἐπιφρουρον δέλη.

Phœnissæ

When the chorus prostrate themselves before Polynices, we may believe that he was in the orchestra near them. Cf. 291ff:

Phœnissæ

ὦ συγγένεια τῶν Ἀγχόρορος τέκτων,
ἐμῶν τυράνων, ὧν ἀπεστάλην ὕπνο,
γυνυπετεῖς ἔδρας προσπίτνω σ'. ἄναξ.

The chorus (296ff.) summon Jocasta from the house, that she may embrace her son. Jocasta comes forth at v. 301 and begins addressing the chorus, not catching sight of her son till she has spoken three verses. Cf. 304ff.:

ὦ τέκνον,
χρόνον σὸν ὄμμα μωρίας ἐν ἀμείραις
προσεῖδον.

Iphigenia in Aulis

Clytemnestra enters on her chariot at v. 607. After thanking the chorus for their words of welcome¹ she speaks as follows (610-618):

Iph. in Aulis

ἀλλ' ὀχημάτων
ἔξω πορεύεθ' ὅς φέρω φερνὰς κόρη,
καὶ πέμπειτ' εἰς μέλαθρον εὐλαβούμενοι.
σὸ δ' ὦ τέκνον μοι, λείπε πωλικὸς ὄχρος,
ἄθρὸν τιθεῖσα κῶλον ἀσθενέες θ' αἶμα.
ὄρεῖς δὲ νεάνιδες νιν ἀγκάλαις ἔπει
δέξασθε καὶ πορεύεσθ' ἔξ ὀχημάτων
καὶ μοι χερός τις ἐνδύτω στηρίγματα,
θάλαυρος ἀπήγης ὡς ἂν ἐκλίπω καλῶς.

These words were spoken to the chorus; and they would have been meaningless, unless Clytemnestra had been in the orchestra at the time of speaking them. Clytemnestra next greets Agamemnon (633f.); Iphigenia does likewise (cf. 635ff.).² We may, therefore, infer that Agamemnon also was in the orchestra.

At vs. 111f. the Presbeus is ordered by Agamemnon to go to Argos with a letter. The command is repeated at v. 139,

1. The verses of the chorus spoken in welcome to the approaching Clytemnestra (598-606) are bracketed in the Nauck edition, as well as vs. 619-632 which include part of Clytemnestra's opening speech, and the words of Iphigenia stating her desire to go to greet her father. 2. These verses also are bracketed in the Nauck edition.

when the Presbeus replies (140), *σπεύδω, βυσίλειδ*. Then follows a conversation between Agamemnon and the Presbeus (141-161), in which the former gives parting instructions, and the latter assents to the former's injunctions. During this conversation the two were doubtless moving slowly away; but it would have been impossible to consume the time of speaking (twenty-two verses) while walking from the center to the side of the stage. Agamemnon and his deputy, then, as they spoke these verses, were moving slowly down the parodos.

Bacchæ

The sympathy existing between Dionysus and the choreutæ would lead us to believe that they were not separated in position. When Dionysus is away from them, they call him to come into their band (582ff.), and when he comes, they express their desolateness in his absence (609), and call him their guardian (614).

The play opens with a speech by Dionysus. At vs. 58ff. the god bids the chorus take their drums, and beat them around the palace of Pentheus. This order would imply that the palace was within easy reach of the chorus while standing in their usual position. Dionysus says (56f.) that he brought the women of the chorus as his assistants and companions. We may infer, therefore, that at the opening of the play Dionysus marched in to the orchestra followed by the chorus.

The entrance of Pentheus at v. 215 was into the orchestra. After entering he speaks for thirty-three verses (215-247), and then exclaims (248f.): *ἀτὰρ τόδ' ἄλλο θούρα * * * Τειρεσίαν ὄρω*. Had Pentheus entered on a stage on which were Cadmus and Teiresias, the latter could not have escaped the attention of Pentheus, while he was speaking thirty-three verses.

Agave was in the close company of the chorus during her conversation with them (1168-1201). The chorus call her a fellow-reveler (1172); presenting the head of the lion she bids them (1184) partake of the feast; The chorus comment on the hair on the head in the hands of Agave (1188).

At vs. 974ff. Dionysus states his intention of leading Pentheus to the mountains. It is probable that their exit was by

the parodos, for the choral ode that follows (977-1023) is but a farewell to Dionysus and Pentheus, the final words of which are:

ἦδ', ὦ Βάκχε, θύραγ' ρεῦσ' ἄ Βαχχᾶν
 γελῶντι προσώπῳ περιβαλε
 βρόχον ἐπὶ θαλάσμιον
 ἀγέλαν πρὸς τὸν Μαινάδων.

On the assumption that Dionysus and Pentheus made their exit from the stage, by a side door, they were out of the theatre, before the ode was hardly more than begun; but considering that they made their exit from the orchestra, the spectacle in which two men were going forth, one to obtain his vindication, the other to meet his death, while the chorus looking at their slowly retreating figures sang to them a parting ode, and, when, at last, they were well nigh out of hearing, uttered a final hope of the success of Dionysus, was an extremely expressive one.

At the close of the play, Agave bids her home and city farewell (1368f.); she bids her father farewell (1379), and then says to the chorus: ἄγετ' ὦ παρπτοί με (1381). The chorus sing a final ode (1388-1392), and we may believe that then chorus and actors leave the theatre together.

Rhesus

The chorus act as a guard to the tent of Hector. (Cf. vs. 15, 524, 813). Their proper position, then, was near to the tent. At the opening of the play they go to the tent (1ff.), to which they announce (50) that they have come as a messenger.

Rhesus

At vs. 523f. Hector orders the chorus to go a little forward to keep guard. When the charioteer of Rhesus approaches, they think (730) that perchance 'some one falls into the net.' It would appear, then, that the charioteer was coming directly toward the place where the chorus were standing.

The chorus on re-entering (674) encounter Ulysses, and cry

(675f.): βάλε, βάλε, βάλε, βάλε,

θένε, θένε· τίς ὦδ' ἀντήρ; Ulysses replies

(683): θανεῖ γὰρ σήμερον δράσας κακῶς. The chorus

continue their threat (684):

οὐκ ἐρεῖς ξύνθημα, λόγχην πρὶν διὰ στέρων μολεῖν;

When Ulysses finally gives the watchword, the chorus withdraw with the words (688): *ἐμβαδόν· ἴσχε παῖς δόρυ*. At v. 877 Hector commands the chorus to seize the charioteer, and conduct him within the tent. During these two scenes it can hardly be claimed that chorus and actors were on different levels.

At the close of the play, Hector says to the chorus (986f.):

χωρεῖτε, συμμάχους θ' ὀπλιζέσθαι τάχος

ἄνωχθε πληροὺν τ' ἀγένας ξυνωρίδων. The chorus re-

spond 993f.): *πεῖθον βασιλεῖ· στείχωμεν ὀπλοῖς*

χορηγούμενοι καὶ ξυμμαχία κ. τ. λ.; and, with the closing words of the chorus, we may believe that actors and chorus

leave the theatre together.

Cyclops

The cave of the Cyclops is in the background. The chorus enter attended by servants who drive the flocks (36ff.). Silenus orders the chorus to bid the servants drive the flocks into the cave. Cf. 82f.:

Cyclops

σγήσατ', ὦ τέκν', ἄντρα δ' εἰς πετρήρεφ' ἡ

ποιμένας ἀθροῖσαι προσπόλους κελεύσατε.

The chorus do as ordered. Cf. 84:

χωρεῖτ', ἀτὰρ δὴ τίνα, πάτερ, σπουδὴν ἔχετε;

Whether these flocks appeared as real goats or as men assuming the guise of goats, we have no means of knowing; but it is evident that they actually entered the cave from the orchestra. We can hardly believe that they scrambled up a flight of steps, in order to reach this cave.

The chorus tell Ulysses (471) that they desire to aid him in subduing the Cyclops. They ask themselves (483ff.) who will be the first to lay hold of the brand that is to put out the Cyclops' eye. Ulysses urges them to aid him (590ff.). He tells them to seize the brand, and enter the cave (630f.). They again say that they wish to share in the task of subduing the monster (632ff.). At last, they begin to find reasons why they can not join in the work. Some are standing too far away from the portals (635f.); others have just become lame (637); others also are lame (638f.); the eyes of others are filled with ashes (640f.); but it is noticeable that none of them urge the difficulty of climbing steps, which would have been a natural reason to urge, if

there had been any steps to climb, especially for those that had just become lame. The true reason for the failure of the chorus to enter the cave may probably be ascribed to the poet's desire to make a display of their ridiculous cowardice.¹

Ulysses must have been in the close company of the chorus, when he threatened to strike them. Cf. 210f.:

τί φάτε; τί λέγετε; τάχα τις ὁμῶν τῷ ξύλῳ
δάκρυα μεθήσσει

At the close of the play, it is probable that chorus and actors left the theatre together. At vs. 441f. Ulysses tells the chorus that he has a plan for their escape from slavery; at vs. 701ff. he says that he will go to the shore to launch his ship; and, in the closing words of the play (708f.), the chorus speak of themselves as the fellow-voyagers of Ulysses.

ARISTOPHANES—*Acharnians*

At the opening of the play is represented an assembly on the Pnyx. Dicæopolis says (20ff.) that, although the Pnyx is then empty, when the Prytanes arrive they will jostle each other for the first seats, rushing down in a body. The Prytanes enter at v. 40, and, as Dicæopolis had prophesied they would do, they crowd for the first seats (42). At v. 91 Pseudartabas arrives, and with his attendants he withdraws at v. 122. A στρατὸς ὁδομάντων enters at v. 156. There were present, also, others, ἐκκλησίαν (56). The assembly is called to order by the herald (43), and is dismissed by him (172f.). For this scene, which was made to resemble a regular assembly on the Pnyx, it seems hardly possible that there was room on the stage.

Acharnians

The chorus were very near to Dicæopolis when, as he was going forth to celebrate the rural Dionysia, they meet him, and cry (280ff.):

οὗτος αὐτὸς ἐστίν, οὗτος
βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε βάλλε
παῖς πᾶς τὸν μιτρόν.
ὦ βάλεῖς, ὦ βάλεῖς;

He fears that they may break the pitcher that he carries, (cf. 284): Ἡράκλεις, τῶντι τί ἐστι; τὴν χύτραν συντρίψετε, but they reply at

¹ Capps, p. 42.

v. 285 that it is not the pitcher, but he, that they will harm: σὲ μὲν οὖν καταλεύσμεν, ὦ μισαρά κεφαλῇ.

The chorus were at another time near enough to Dicæopolis to threaten him with personal violence. Cf. 564f.:

οὗτος σὺ ποῦ θεῖς, οὐ μὲνεις; ὥς εἰ θενεῖς
τὸν ἄνδρα τοῦτον, αὐτὸς ἀρῇσει τάχα.

When Dicæopolis is to make trial of his skill in speaking, the chorus order him to bring the chopping block from the house, adding (365):

θεῖς δεῦρο τὸ ἐπιζήγον ἐγχεῖρει λέγειν.

When he brings the chopping block, he says (366):

ἰδοὺ θέασαι, τὸ μὲν ἐπιζήγον τοῦδε.

We may infer, therefore, that he brought the block near to the chorus, and, standing on it, make his speech.

At the close of the play, Dicæopolis says (1231):

ἔπεσθ' ἐν ᾧ ὄντες ὃ τήνελλα καλλίνικος.

The chorus reply (1232ff.):

ἀλλ' ἐψόμεσθα σὴν χάριν
τήνελλα καλλίνικον χ. τ. λ.,

and, with these words, we may believe that chorus and actors leave the orchestra together.

Knights

In several instances in this play, chorus and actors are brought into close relations with one another.

Knights. At v. 244 Demosthenes urges the sausage-seller to resist the Paphlagonian, adding, by way of encouragement to the sausage-seller, that the chorus are near. The chorus enter at v. 247. Their first words are: παῖς παῖς τὸν πανωύργον, and then they also strike him. Cf. 251f.:

ἀλλὰ παῖς καὶ δίωκε καὶ τάραττε καὶ κίχα
καὶ βδελύττου, καὶ γὰρ ἤμεῖς.

The Paphlagonian then turns to the audience, and exclaims (257): ὥς ὅπ' ἀνδρῶν τρέπεται ξυνομιστῶν.

The chorus then (258ff.) defends itself for making the attack.

Again the chorus strike the Paphlagonian. At v. 451 they cry: παῖ' ἀνδρικῶς, to which he replies (451f.): ἰὸδ, ἰὸδ, | τρέπυσσ' μ' οἷ ξυνομιῶται.

At the close of v. 491 the chorus hand a flask of oil to the

Sausage-seller, and, at the close of v. 493 they hand him a head of garlic. At the close of v. 922, they hand to Cleon a ladle.

Clouds

At v. 1490 Xanthias is on the roof of the phrontisterion. At v. 1494 Strepsiades also is on the roof. On being asked what he is doing there, the latter replies (1495f.) that he is chopping logic with the beams of the house; and he declares at v. 1503 that he is walking on air, and speculating about the sun. It will be readily admitted that, for the free movements incidental to a scene such as this, the roof of the proscenium was more suited than was a distegia only three feet deep.

Clouds

The closing words of the play are by the chorus: ἡγεῖσθ' ἕξω·
 κελόρευσται γὰρ μετρίως τὸ γε πῆμαρον ἡμῶν (1510), and, with these words, it is probable that all march from the theatre together with the actors leading the way.

Wasps

There is an extensive use of the distegia in this play. The house of Philocleon is represented in the back-ground. At the opening of the play, Bdelycleon is on the roof; at v. 143 a rumbling in the chimney tells him that Philocleon is trying to reach the roof; the son drives back his father (147f.); at v. 207 the latter appears on the roof. The chorus enter at v. 230, along a city street (cf. 246).¹ The conversation that follows, in which Philocleon and the chorus take part, was evidently carried on in front of the house of the former. If, at this time, the chorus were in the orchestra, and Philocleon was on the traditional distegia, he was on a level about twenty feet above that of the choreutae.² The scene becomes more natural if we assume that, at this time, Philocleon was on the roof of the proscenium.

Wasps

The chorus at v. 383 promise Philocleon that they will defend him. He reminds them of their promise (402) when Bdelycleon attempts to prevent his escape. They prepare to abide by their promise. Cf. 423:

θεῶργοι καὶ ξείρους τὸ κλέπτρον ἐλτ' ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἴεσθαι.

1 Cf. Pickard, p. 292. 2 Cf. White, p. 193.

They again threaten Bdelycleon. Cf. 437:

εἰ δὲ μὴ τοῦτων μεθήσεις, ἔν τί σοι παρήσεται.

They finally rush against Bdelycleon, and he exclaims (456):

παῖτε παῖ', ὦ Ξανθία, τοὺς σφίγας ἀπὸ τῆς οἰκίας,

The Wasps are beaten back and Xanthias says (460):

ἀρ' ἐμέλλομέν ποθ' ὁμᾶς ἀποσπῆσαι τῷ χρόνῳ

At the close of the play, chorus and actors leave the orchestra together, the former dancing. Cf. 1535ff.:

ἀλλ' ἐξάγετ', εἴ τι φιλεῖτ' ὀρχοῦμενοι θύραζε

ὁμᾶς ταχὺ τοῦτο γὰρ οὐδεὶς πω πάρος δέδρακεν,

ὀρχοῦμενον βᾶσις ἀπήλλαξεν χορὸν τρογῶδων.

Peace

At v. 80 Tyrgæus mounts a beetle, and, after a journey through the air, reaches heaven. Finding that the goddess, Peace, has been cast into a cave (ἀντρον βαθύ, 223), he calls upon all to aid him in drawing her out (296ff.). At once the chorus appear. At 490 ff. Hermes, Tyrgæus, and the chorus all lay hold of the rope, and draw Peace forth. It is evident that chorus and actors are together in this scene, for (1) the chorus are told by Tyrgæus (309ff.) to be quiet lest they disturb Polemos, who is in the palace, and (2) when Hermes grants permission to the chorus to drag away the stones that covered Peace, he tells them to go within the cave. Cf. 427: *εἰσιόντες ὡς τάχιστα τοὺς λίθους ἀφέλκετε*. Finally, it would have ruined the illusion, if Tyrgæus and Hermes had been in heaven pulling on the rope, while the chorus were on the earth pulling on the same rope. The traditional view must assume that Tyrgæus ascended to the distegia above the stage, and that the chorus climbed first to the stage, and then to the distegia. This would, however, seem to have been impossible. The probable explanation is that Tyrgæus ascended to the roof of the proscenium, and that on this level the chorus entered, remaining there till Peace had been drawn from the cave, and then withdrawing, and appearing in the orchestra. There may remain the objection that too many may have thus appeared on the roof of the proscenium, but this objection applies still more forcibly to the view that would hold that so many appeared on the traditional distegia; and it is noticeable, fur-

ther, that during this scene there is no song by the chorus that would require dancing.¹

Tyrgæus declares (881f.) that he will lead Theoria among the spectators; and he apparently does this. Cf. 905f.:

ἀλλ' ὦ προτάνας, δέχεσθε τὴν θεωρίαν.
θέασ' ὡς προθύμως ὁ πρόταυσι παρεδέξατο.

The chorus are opposed to the offering of an ox (926), lest it should be necessary that they render assistance. Tyrgæus, then, was making his sacrifice in the orchestra. This fact is further made clear by his suggestion (962): καὶ τοῖς θεαταῖς ῥίπτε τῶν χριθῶν. It would not have been easy to throw barley to the spectators from a position so far away from them as was the stage.

At the close of the play, actors and chorus leave the theatre together. Tyrgæus (1316ff.) orders the bride to be brought forth that all may join in the rejoicing, and dance in her honor. She comes forth at v. 1329. The chorus wish to escort the bridegroom also (1339ff.); and the chorus speak the final words of the play (1354ff.):

ὦ χαίρετε χαίρετ', ἄν-
δρες, καὶ ξυνέπησθέ μοι
παρακλῶντας ἔδεσθε.

Birds

The scenery represented in this play is a hillside and a cavern (cf. 54, 92, 202, 207). The path over which Euelpides enters is one with rocks without a beaten track (20ff.). This scenery was unsuited to a stage.

Birds

Euelpides and Pisthetairus, at the opening of the play, are entering engaged in conversation. They do not reach the house of the Epops till v. 54. It is evident that they could not have occupied the time of speaking fifty-three verses in walking half way across the stage.

When the chorus see the two strangers present, they meditate attacking them. Cf. 344:

ἔπαγ', ἔπιθ', ἐπίφερε πολέμιον ὄρνιν.

¹ Capps, p. 75f.

They express in strong words their intention of attacking them.
Cf. 364f.:

ἐλελελεὺ χάριε, χάριε τὸ ῥύγχος· οὐ μέλλειν ἐχρῆν.

ἔλκε, τίλλε, παῖε, δεῖρε, κόπτε πρῶτην τήν χότμαν.

In the meantime, the strangers deliberate on their condition. Euelpides asks where he can flee, that he may not be torn to pieces (354), and his comrade advises that they remain and fight (357). Finally, the chorus withdraw (400). It is evident that, in this scene, chorus and actors were together.

When the messenger enters (1122), he asks where Pisthetairus is. The latter is present and replies, *αὐτοσί* (1123). If the two actors had been on the stage, the question of the messenger would have been unnatural.

When Pisthetairus and Basileia are seen by the chorus to be approaching, the latter move aside to make way for them.
Cf. 1720ff.

ἄναγε, δῖεχε, πάραγε, πάραχε,

περιπέτεσθε

μάχαρε μάχαρε σὺν τήχα.

At the conclusion of the play, the chorus following the actors leave the theatre. Cf. 1755ff.:

ἔπεσθε νῦν γάμοισιν, ὦ

φῦλα πάντα συννόμων

πτεροφόρ', *z. t. l.*

Lysistrata

The chorus of men enter at v. 254 carrying billets of wood, and pans of charcoal. They express their intention (310ff.) of setting fire to the house, if the women do not allow them to enter. It cannot be doubted that, with their preparations to burn the house, they move forward toward it. The chorus of women come from the citadel to defend it at v. 319. They perform now the part of actors; their place therefore, was on the stage, if there was a stage. It is evident, however, that in their encounter with the chorus of men they were very near to those men. The chorus of men threaten to break their cudgels in beating the women (357); the women threaten to beat the men (364); the men will burn the hair of the women (381). The women drench the men with water (cf. 381ff.). The women, therefore, at this time,

Lysistrata

were in the orchestra, and that they went directly to this place, on their entrance from the citadel, is clear from the fact that two verses after their entrance, orchestral movements began; but there would not have been time, while they were speaking two verses, for them to descend a flight of steps, and arrange themselves in the orchestra.¹

Lysistrata (1182ff.) invites the two choruses into the citadel. They return at v. 1239, and, with them, come the third chorus, that of the Spartans, and the fourth chorus, that of the Athenians. Lysistrata invites the Spartan and Athenian choruses to lead the way. Cf. 1273ff.:

ἄγε νῦν, ἐπειδὴ τᾶλλα πεποιήται καλῶς,
ἀπάγεσθε τούτας, ὦ Λάκωνες, τασδεῖδ'
ὁμῆϊς·

These two choruses reply that they will do so (1279ff., 1296ff.), and choruses and actors leave the theatre together.

Thesmophoriazusæ

In the first part of the play is represented an assembly scene. Mnesilochus, soon after entering, sacrifices a cake to the goddesses Demeter and Persephone *Thesmophoriazusæ* (284f.), and offers prayers to them (286ff.); he looks for a good seat, that he may hear the orators (292f.). The herald calls the assembly to order: εὐφημία ἴστω, εὐφημία ἴστω (295). The chorus offer prayer (312ff.). The herald reads the preliminary decree (372ff.). At v. 379 he asks who wishes to speak. A woman of the chorus speaks first (383ff.); she is followed by a second woman (443ff.), and by Mnesilochus (466ff.). It is not probable that, in this scene, different parts of the assembly were on different levels.

There are two search scenes in the play, in the course of which the chorus pass over every foot of space where an actor would be likely to be. In the first of these scenes, Clisthenes on entering tells the chorus (574ff.) that a man disguised as a woman is present. After some discussion, the chorus declare (597 ff.) that they must search for him. After finding Mnesilochus, they decide (655ff.) that they must search to see whether another man is concealed among them. They now examine all

1. Pickard, p. 297.

places closely, cf. 660: καὶ διασχοπεῖν σιωπῇ πανταχῇ; they run about in all directions, cf. 662: ἀλλὰ τὴν πρῶτην τρέχειν χροῖ σ' ὡς τάχιστα ἡδὴ πᾶσι; they search all parts, cf. 663f.:

εἰδὼ νῦν ἵγνευε, καὶ μᾶτευσε ταχὺ πάντ'

εἴ τις ἐν τόποις ἑδραῖος ἄλλος ἀδ' ἐλέγηθεν ὄν;

and, at last, failing to find anybody, they exclaim (687f.):

ἀλλ' εἰσιγ' ἡμῖν ἀπαντὰ πῶς διεσκέφθαι καλῶς

οὐχ ἄρῳμεν γοῶν εἴτ' ἄλλον οὐδέν' ἐγκαθήμενον.

While the women of the chorus are occupied in searching, Mnesilochus (cf. 690f.) snatches a child from the arms of one of them. In their wrath at this offense, they threaten to bring wood and burn the offender to ashes (726f.); they heap up brushwood beside him (739); and he urges them to set it afire (749f.). When the child is found to be but a wine-skin filled with wine, the woman from whom it had been taken calls for a bowl, that she may catch the wine (754f.), but Mnesilochus himself drinks the wine (cf. 756).

Frogs

In a passage in this play an actor goes among the spectators. When Dionysus becomes frightened by the monster that he sees in the lower world (cf. 286ff.) he deliberates flight, and runs to the priest of Dionysus, with appeals for protection. Cf. 296f.:

ΔΙΟ. ποῖ δῆτ' εἰς τραποῖμην; ΞΑΝ. ποῖ δ' ἐγώ;

ΔΙΟ. ἱερῶν, διαφύλαξόν μ', ἵν' ὦ σοι ξυμπότης.

Xanthias recalls him (301), δεῦρο δεῦρ', ὦ δέσποτα.

At the close of the play, the chorus escort Æschylus from the lower world. Cf. 1524ff.:

φαίνετε τοῖνον ὁμεῖς τούτῳ

λαμπάδας ἱερὰς, χάσμα προπέμπετε

τούτῳ τούτῳ τούτῳ μέλειςιν

καὶ μολπαῖσιν κεκαθῶντες.

The chorus sing a brief ode, and then actors and chorus make their exit from the theatre together.

Ecclesiazusæ

During the first two hundred and eighty-four verses of the play, the women of the chorus are not to be distinguished from actors. Some, at least, of them come from a door in the rear (cf. 33ff.). At the close of the mimic assembly, these women, with their attendants, form themselves into a chorus, and leave the theatre singing an ode (285ff.).¹

Ecclesiazusæ

The assembly is made to resemble a regular assembly. There are present seats (57, 103), and a *βήμα* for the speakers (104); the purification is performed (128ff.); chaplets are put on (122, 131); Praxagora asks who wishes to speak (130).

The chorus return to the theatre at v. 478. Praxagora enters at v. 504, and, during the course of an address to the chorus, bids them throw off their cloaks, *ῥίπτετε χλαῖνας* (507). These cloaks she orders a servant to put in order: *καὶ μέντοι σὺ μὲν | ταύ-
τας κατατετρίπτει* (509f.). We may infer then that Praxagora and the servant entered the orchestra.

At vs. 1149f. the maid-servant says:

*ἔγω δὲ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον ἡδὴ πεζύομαι,
ἔχω δὲ τὰ καὶ ὅατα ταυτηγὰ καλῶς.*

The chorus reply (1151f., 1163ff.):

*τί θύγα διατρίβεις ἔχων, ἀλλ' ὡς ἄγεις
τασθὶ λαβών;*

ὦ ὦ ὄμα ὄη,

ὦ φίλαι γυναῖκες, εἴπερ μέλλομεν τὸ χροῖμα ὀρᾶν,

ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον ὑπανακτινέειν. Κρητικῶς ὦν τὸ πόδε

καὶ σὺ κίσει.

The reply of the Despotēs is, *τοῦτο ὀρῶ* (1166), and, with these words, he leads out the procession that ends the play.

Plutus

At v. 253 Cario enters with the chorus of country-people, bound for the house of his master, Chremylus. He urges the choreutæ to hasten, *σπεύθεσθ'* (255), yet they do not reach the house of Chremylus till v. 315. That Cario is, in fact, leading in the chorus is made

Plutus

1 Cf. Capp, p. 29.

clear by his command to them, *ἔπεσθ'* (295), and *ἔπεσθε* (308). The long walk over the *parodos* to the *orchestra* (253-315), during which *Cario* and the *choreutæ* are conversing, is easily pictured to the mind.

The closing scene is one with which we are familiar; all leave the theatre in procession together. Cf. 1208f.:

*οὐκ ἔτι τοῖνον εἰκὸς μέλλειν οὐδ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ἀναχωρεῖν
εἰς τοῦπισθεν· δεῖ γὰρ κατόπιν τούτων ἄδοντας ἔπεσθαι.*

§6 EVIDENCE AGAINST A STAGE FROM CERTAIN FACTS CONNECTED WITH THE ENTRANCE OF ACTORS AND OF CHORUSES

A consideration of certain facts connected with the entrance of actors, and, in a few instances, of choruses, will establish the fact that all actors when not entering from the palace in the background entered by the *parodos*, and will confirm the fact already proved, that the palace was in the rear of the *orchestra*, and on a level with it.

There will be considered (I) the instances where choruses announce in-coming actors; (II) the instances where actors announce in-coming actors; (III) the instances where actors announce in-coming choruses; but (IV) the instances where actors come from the palace in the background will be considered last.

I. Instances where Choruses Announce In-Coming Actors

Following are the instances in which choruses announce approaching actors:¹ *Persæ*, 150, 5; 246, 3. *Septem*, 369, 6. *Agam.*, 493, 10. *Ajax*, 1042, 5. *Antig.*, 155, 7; 376, 3; 526, 5; 626, 5; 1257 4. *Electra* (*Soph.*), 1428, 14. *Æd. Tyr.*, 297,

(1) Instances where choruses announce the approach of actors

1 The first numeral after the name of the play designates the number of the verse at which the chorus state that they see the actor coming; the second numeral designates the number of verses that elapse after he is seen, before he begins speaking. Account is taken here of only those instances in which the choruses say that they see actors approaching, or in some other way indicate that they actually see them. A case, therefore, like that in the *Prometheus* where the hero hears *Io* coming (555), but probably does not see her is not here included. There is omitted, also, the instance where the chorus is *Æsch. Septem* (861) see *Antigone* and *Ismene* coming. One hundred verses elapse after the chorus see them, before they arrive, which is an abnormally large number. Similarly in the other classes there are included only instances where the actors or choruses are spoken of as if actually seen.

3; 1416, 6. *Œd. Col.*, 549, 2. *Philoc.*, 539, 3. *Trachin.*, 178, 2; 222, 7; 868, 3; 964, 18. *Alcestis*, 233, 11; 611, 3; 1006, 2. *Medea*, 269, 2. *Hipp.*, 899, 3; 1151, 2; 1342, 5. *Androm.*, 545, 2; 879, 2. *Heracl.*, 118, 2. *Supp. (Eurip.)*, 980, 10; 1031, 3. *Hecuba*, 216, 2; 724, 2. *Herc. Fur.*, 138, 2; 442, 8. *Troades*, 230, 5; 568, 4; 1118, 5. *Iph. in Taur.*, 236, 2; 456, 17. *Electra (Eurip.)*, 339, 2. *Orestes*, 348, 8; 456, 14; 850, 2; 1013, 6; 1504, 2; 1549, 5. *Phœnissæ*, 443, 3; 1307, 2. *Iph. in Aul.*, 591, 7; 1619, 2. *Bacch.*, 1165, 3. *Rhesus*, 85, 2; 806, 2. *Achar.*, 1069, 2. *Thesmo.*, 571, 3.

It is found in the above instances that the number of verses that elapse between the time of announcement and that of arrival varies from two to eighteen, the average number of verses being five (very nearly).

Average number
of verses spoken
while actor
is approaching

The question necessarily arises, how long a time an actor would have consumed in passing from a door in the side-wing to the center of the stage, which may be considered the position that he would have taken, provided his position was on the stage. The width of the stage in the theatre at Athens was about twenty m., and it may be considered that for an actor to pass over one half of this distance would have taken the time of speaking not more than two verses.¹

The time required
for walking half
way across
the stage

It may be observed, in the first place, that there is every reason to believe that the chorus actually saw those that they described as approaching. The verbs here used are the ordinary verbs of seeing, such as *ὄρω*, *λεῖψω*, *ὄψομαι*, and *εἰσὶν ὁρώ*; *στυγίω* occasionally is used.

Actors
actually seen

If, in these instances, the choruses saw the actors just as they were about to enter on the stage, from a door in the side-wing, the actor frequently was in his position at the center of the stage, and ready for speaking, several verses before the chorus finished their announcement of his ap-

Actors probably
not just about to
enter on the stage
from a door
in the side wing
when first seen
by the choruses

1. If the time of two verses seems not sufficient, as many as four can be allowed. The arguments based upon the former number hold equally good if based upon the latter. Certainly nobody would increase the number beyond four. It is an easy matter for one to make a practical test of the time required to walk this distance.

proach. Thus, in the *Agamemnon* (493) the chorus saw the herald coming ten verses before he began speaking. If, when first announced, he was just setting foot on the stage, he stood still in his position at the center of the stage for eight verses, while the chorus were describing his appearance, and wondering whether he brought joy or sorrow. That such was the case seems improbable.

It sometimes happens that between the time of announcement, and that of arrival, a conversation takes place that evidently was not carried on in the presence of the in-coming actor, as e. g. in Sophocles' *Electra*, where the following conversation occurs (1428ff.):

Conversations
not carried on
in the presence
of the in-coming
actors

XO. παύσασθε· λυόσσω γάρ Ἀγχισθον ἐκ προδῆλου.

ΗΛ. ὦ παῖδες, οὐκ ἄφ' οὐραυ; *ΟΡ.* εἰσὸρᾷτέ μου
τὸν ἄνδρ'; *ΗΛ.* εἴφ' ἤμιν οὕτως ἐκ προασπίου
χωρεῖ γεργυῶς

XO. βᾶτε κατ' ἀντιθύρων ὅσον τάχιστα,
νῦν, τὰ πρὶν εἰθ' θέμενοι, τὰδ' ὥς πάλιν.

ΟΡ. θάρσει· τελοῦμεν. *ΗΛ.* ἦ νοεῖς ἐπειγέ νῦν.

ΟΡ. καὶ δὴ βέλτερον. *ΗΛ.* τὰνθάδ' αὖ μέλοιτ' ἐμοί,

XO. οἷ' ὥτ' ὅς αὖ παῖρά γ' ὥς ἤπιως ἐνέπειν
πρὸς ἄνδρα τόνδε συρφέροι, λαθραῖον ὥς
ὀρούσῃ πρὸς δίνας ἀγῶνα.

ΑἴΤΣΘΟΣ

τίς αἰθερὶν ὁμῶν παῦ κ. τ. λ.

It is clear that it was not intended that Ægistheus hear a word of this conversation, and that, with their final words, the chorus gather around Electra, lest Ægistheus, who was at that time near at hand, might hear. Assuming, however, that Ægistheus was seen by the chorus just entering on the stage, we shall have to believe that he heard all of the conversation.

It is evident, then, that the chorus do not see the actor as he is just about to enter on the stage from a door in the side-wing.

The only place left for the actor when first seen is without the stage-buildings. By referring to the plan on page 91, it is seen that the chorus could have commanded a view of the parodos as far as the eye could reach, by standing at or near the position indicated by the letter *W*. If the actor had approached the stage from without the stage-buildings, intending to reach the stage through a paraskenion, he could not have been seen by the chorus, after he had approached nearer to the stage-buildings than is the position indicated by the letter *P*. The time required for passing from the side to the center of the stage is assumed to be that of reciting two verses. The time, then, required for passing from *P* to the center of the stage would be a little more than that of reciting six verses. It follows, therefore, that, when the chorus said that they saw an actor three, four, five, or six verses before he began speaking, he was at some point between *P* and the door leading onto the stage, providing he was to reach the stage through the paraskenion, and, if this was the case, we are compelled to believe that at times the chorus said that they saw those that in reality they did not see. That such was the fact seems improbable.

The actor when first seen was without the stage-buildings

The actor, then, when first seen by the chorus was not just about to set foot on the stage, and he was not approaching the stage from without the stage-buildings. He was, therefore, when first seen by the chorus, in the parodos, and drawing nigh to the orchestra. As he approached in this manner the chorus had no difficulty in seeing him, whether he was far away, or near at hand.

The actor when first seen was in the parodos and approaching the orchestra

Understanding, now, that the actor entered by the parodos, we see why at times the chorus saw him more quickly than did an actor already present, as *e. g.*, in the *Ajax*, where the chorus announced (1042f.) that they saw a foeman coming, and Teucer asked who it was (1044); the chorus replied (1045) that it was Menelaus, and Teucer then (1046) saw him, the reason for this being that, while the view down the parodos of the chorus was un-

This view explains why the approaching actor is sometimes seen by the chorus, but not by another actor present

obstructed, that of Teucer was for the moment obstructed by the chorus.

We see also why newly-arrived actors often direct their first words to the chorus, though other actors are present, and why at times actors on entering are unable to see other actors who are present (cf. Birds 1122f., and Orestes 356ff., 470ff.)

—and why
the chorus
is first addressed

II. Instances where Actors Announce In-Coming Actors

Prom., 941, 3. Ajax, 1223, 3. CEd. Tyr., 78, 9; 1110, 11. CEd. Col., 28, 5; 311, 13; 722, 6; 1249, 5. Trachin., 58, 3; 594, 4. Alcestis, 24, 4. Medea, 46, 3; 1118, 3. Hipp., 51, 7. Heracl., 48, 7. Sup. (Eurip.), 395, 4. Hecuba, 52, 7. Her. Fur., 513, 10; 1153, 10. Ion, 392, 9. Troades, 706, 3. Electra (Eurip.), 107, 5; 964, 24. Orestes, 725, 4; 1313, 8. Phœnis., 695, 2; 1332, 3. Iph. in A., 1337, 7. Bacchæ, 212, 3; 657, 3. Cyclops, 85, 11. Acharn., 40, 3; 61, 3; 175, 1; 908, 2; 1083, 1; 1189, 4 words. Knights, 234, 1; 691, 3. Wasps, 1324, 2; 1415, 2; 1504, 4. Birds, 1121, 1. 1168, 2. Lysist., 65, 25; 727, 1. Plutus, 332, 3.

(II) Instances
where actors an-
nounce in-coming
actors

The instances in this class bear a general resemblance to those in the preceding class. The number of verses that elapse between the time when the actor is seen to be approaching, and the time when he arrives varies from one to twenty-five,¹ the average number being five and one-half (nearly).

This class resem-
bles the preceding
class

It cannot be claimed that the actor when first seen was about to set foot on the stage. Occasionally a conversation takes place that evidently was not carried on in his presence, as e. g. in the Hercules Furens, where, after Hercules is seen drawing nigh (513), Megara calls the children to her side.

Actors not about
to enter
on the stage
when first seen

¹ Omitting Achar., 1189.

It may be claimed that in this class the actor announced as approaching was waiting in the paraskenion, and so was actually seen; and it must be admitted that such may have been the case. It cannot, however, be claimed that in the preceding class the chorus saw the actor in the paraskenion awaiting the proper moment for entering.

Actors may have been waiting in the paraskenion

If we believe that in this class the actors entered the orchestra, we shall understand why at times they failed to observe other actors already present, as *e. g.* in the *Herc. Fur.*, where Hercules speaks two verses before seeing his children, and then, as he spies them exclaims (525) *ἴα· τί χρῶνα; τίχ' ὁρῶ πρὸ θυμῶν*, and we shall understand why, at times, actors on entering address first the chorus, rather than other actors present.

Actors fail to observe other actors; they address the chorus first

On the assumption that, in both this and the preceding classes, the actors entered the orchestra, we shall understand why the choruses heralded the approach oftener than did the actors. In the one hundred and three instances in the two classes the approach of actors is announced by choruses fifty-six times, by actors forty-seven times. It would appear, therefore, that the position of the chorus was where it had a clear view of the parodos, while the position of the actor was nearer to the wall of the proscenium, and where the view of the parodos, while not obstructed, was not quite so favorable as was that of the chorus.

Choruses oftener than actors announce the approach of in-coming actors

III. Instances where Actors Announce In-Coming Choruses

Œd. Col., 111, 6. *Phœnissæ*, 196, 6. *Cyclops*, 36, 5. *Birds*, 294, 15. *Knights*, 242, 5. *Clouds*, 323, 5.

(III) Instances where actors announce in-coming choruses

In the instances that come under this class there is an added element to be considered. When actors entered, it is reasonable to believe that, in general, they did not begin speaking, till they were at the center of action. Usually, the chorus began singing while still in the parodos, the march in being accompanied by the chanting of the entrance-song. At what place in the parodos this en-

An added element in this class

trance-song was begun, we have no information to tell us; yet we may not unreasonably conclude that it was generally begun soon after the chorus entered the parodos, and thus came in sight of the spectators.

In the *Phœnissæ*, the Pedagogue at v. 196 says that he sees the chorus approaching. Six verses later, the chorus begin singing the parodos. If the Pedagogue had been on the stage at v. 196, we can believe that by looking through open doors he could have seen the in-coming chorus when they were at or near the position indicated by the letter *D*. Assuming this to be the case, the chorus would have had just about sufficient time during the six remaining verses of the Pedagogue's announcement to reach a place within the parodos at which we may believe them to have begun the words at v. 202. Every case, however, will not be so satisfactory, on the assumption that the actor took his view from the stage.

At v. 111 in the *Œdipus Coloneus*, Antigone sees the chorus of old men drawing nigh. If, at this time Antigone was on the stage, and, by looking through doors in the paraskenion, saw the chorus approaching, the chorus when first seen, it would appear, must have been near the position indicated by the letter *D*, for it would not seem probable that Antigone could have seen any part of the parodos that was much nearer the orchestra than that indicated by the letter *D*. The chorus enter six verses after being seen. Their first words are (117ff.):

The entrance
of the chorus
in the *Œd. Col.*

ὄρα, τίς ἄρ' ἔν; ποῦ ναίει;
ποῦ κυρεῖ ἐκτόπιος σὺθεῖς ὁ πάντων
ὁ πάντων ἀκυρέστατος;

It is clear that these words were not spoken, as the chorus drew nigh over the parodos, as was the case in the example quoted above from the *Phœnissæ*, but when they were near to the place from which *Œdipus* had just been led. The chorus, then, when they began speaking were at or near the position indicated by *E*. From *D* to *E* is about seventy-five m. That the chorus could have passed over so great a distance while Antigone was speaking six verses seems improbable. They would

naturally, while the six verses were being spoken, pass over a distance equal to about that from *V* to *E*; and we may believe that, when Antigone announced the approach of the chorus, they were at or near *V*, but it seems improbable that by looking through doors in the paraskenion she could have seen the chorus when they were at *V*, and the assumption in hand compels us to believe that Antigone announced as approaching a chorus that she did not see. This conclusion is unsatisfactory.

It may be claimed that Antigone looked directly into the parodos from the stage, and thus saw the chorus approaching. In order to see as far as *V*, it would have been necessary that she advance to the front of the stage, and lean far over, and, even then, it may be doubted whether she could have seen as far down the parodos as *V*.

Antigone probably was not looking directly into the parodos from the stage

The only position, therefore, that we can assign to an actor who announces the entrance of a chorus, in which we can be sure that he sees the chorus the approach of which he announces, is the orchestra.

In this class the actor was probably in the orchestra

IV. Instances where the Approach of Actors (and in One Instance of a Chorus) from the Palace in the Background is Announced.

Chœph., 10, 12; 731, 3. Antig., 1180, 3. Electra (Soph.), 324, 4; 1324, 2. Œd. Tyr., 531, 1; 631, 3. Alcestis, 136, 5; 509, 1. Medea, 1121, 3. Hipp., 170, 6; 1156, 1. Androm., 822, 3. Ion, 78, 4. Troades, 306, 1. Helena, 858, 6. Iph. in Tau., 724, 1. Electra (Eurip.), 549, 4. Orestes, 1367, 2. Peace, 1265, 3. Lysist., 5, 1; 1106, 6. Thesmophor., 36, 3; 95, 6.

(IV) Instances where actors come from the palace

If the actor that came from the palace entered on a stage, he was in his position, and ready to take his part, almost as soon as he was seen. If this was the case, an announcement of his approach covering several verses was manifestly out of place, for, as in previous cases, it would have compelled him to stand in his position most of this time, waiting

If the actor came on the stage, he was in his position soon after being seen

for the announcement of his approach to be finished, that he might speak.

The actor
in this class
was actually
seen approaching

When an actor is announced as coming from the palace, we must believe that he is actually seen coming forth; in these announcements *έρπας*, *βαίνω*, *ερχομαι*, and similar words are used.

Time needed for
him to reach his
position, if this
was on the stage

An allowance may be made for the time consumed in passing through the door-way, and closing the door, but it will not be contended that the time of more than one verse was required for this, and for the actor to reach his proper position, granting that he entered on the stage.

If the actor entered the orchestra from the palace, and had, thus, a considerable distance to pass over, before he was in his proper position, a larger number of verses would naturally be spoken between the time when he was first seen and that when he was in his position, and ready to take his part, than would be spoken if he entered on the stage. In the instances cited above, it is seen that the number of verses thus spoken varies from one to six¹, the average number of verses being three and one-half; and this number of verses must represent the time consumed by the actor in walking from the palace door to a position well within the orchestra.

In six instances, actors are present at the close of a single verse after they are seen. In four of them we may believe either that their approach was not observed till they were near at hand, or that the needs of the plays did not require that their coming be sooner announced; yet in the Troades, where Hecuba says that her daughter is rushing forth in a frenzied condition, *μηνὺς θαύζει δέδρτο Κασάνδρα ὀρόμω* (307), we may infer that she passed over the ground more quickly than would ordinarily be the case. Likewise, it is reasonable to believe that Œdipus, as he came from the palace (Œd. Tyr. 531), hastened his pace, and

1 Omitting the instance in the Chæphori where the chorus are seen to be coming, and where naturally a longer time would be consumed in passing from palace to orchestra than would be consumed by an actor in passing over the same ground.

even spoke before reaching his proper position in the orchestra, as he beheld before him his enemy Crèon.

In the four instances where the announcements consist of six verses, it is difficult to find a reason why the actor came so slowly; beyond the fact that the poet so desired. There is, however, in one of them, the Helena, strong evidence that the actor came into the orchestra. Here Helen sees Theonœ coming; she is in doubt what she shall do; she meditates flight; she speaks of her despair (858ff.). The view that would claim that Theonœ here entered on a stage would claim also that Helen was, at this time, on the stage; yet her words uttered after seeing Theonœ were evidently not uttered in his presence; they were spoken as she stood in the orchestra, and saw him drawing nigh to her.

In a few instances
an unusually
long time
is consumed

In the presentation of the dramas of Shakespeare, the performers are all on the stage, the actors enter through a doorway either in the rear of, or at the end of, the stage. As they are, then, on the stage, and ready for action almost as soon as they are seen, we are not surprised to find that but few words are used to announce their presence.

In the plays
of Shakespeare
actors present soon
after being seen

A comparison of a few instances taken from the Greek dramatists, in which the actors came from the palace, with similar instances taken from the English dramatist will show how much longer a distance the Greek actor had to walk over in passing from palace door to the position where he took his part, than the English actor has in passing over a similar distance.

A comparison
of Shakespeare
with the Greek
dramatists shows
that in the former
the actor had a
shorter distance
to pass over

In *Titus Andronicus*, Act V., SCENE 1, the following occurs:

Lucius: But who comes here led by a lusty Goth?

Titus Andronicus:
Alcestis

Goth: Renowned Lucius, from our troops I strayed, etc.

The question of Lucius is asked as he sees the Goth approaching, and the Goth begins speaking with the next verse. With this may be compared the following passage from *Alcestis*,

(136ff.): ΛΟ. ἀλλ' ἴδ' ὁπαδῶν ἐκ δόμων τις ἔρχεται
 δακρυρροῦσα· τίνα τύχην ἀκούσομαι;
 πῦθ' ἔν, εἴ τι θεσπόμεναι τυγχάνει,
 συγγνωστόν· εἰ δ' ἔτ' ἐστὶν ἐρφεύχος γυνή
 εἴτ' οὖν ὄλωκεν εἰδέναι βουλομένη ἄν.

ΘΕ. καὶ ζῶσαν εἰπεῖν καὶ θανάσαν ἔστι σοι.

The chorus here speak five verses before the attendant is near enough to speak. With the passage from *Andronicus* may be compared also the following from *Hippolytus* (170ff.):

Titus Andronicus:
 Hippolytus

ΛΟ. ἀλλ' ἔδε τρυφῶς γεραίᾳ πρὸ θυρῶν
 τέχνη κορίζουσ' ἔξω μιλάθρων·
 στογνὸν δ' ὀφρύων ἄλγος αὐξάνεται.
 τί ποτ' ἔστι παθεῖν ἔραται ψυχῇ,
 τί διδύχεται
 ὀίρας ἀλλόχρων βασιλείας.

ΤΡ. ὦ κακὰ θυγτρῶν κ. τ. λ.

In *Antony and Cleopatra*, Act III, SCENE 7, occurs the following:

Antony and Cleopatra:
 Helena

Enobarbus: Here comes the Emperor.

Antony: Is it not strange, etc.

With this compare the following (*Helena*, 857ff.):

ΕΛ. οἱ γὰρ τάλαρα· τῆς τύχης γὰρ ὡς ἔχω·
 Μενέλαι, διαπεπνύμεθ'· ἐκβαίνει δόμος
 ἢ διαπεπνύς θινότης· κτυπεῖ δόμος
 κίχθρων ἐκθίντων. φεῖγ'· ἀτὰρ τί φευκτίον;
 ἀπώσα γὰρ σὺ καὶ παρῶς ἀφίγναι
 δεῖρ' οἶδεν· ὦ δόσσηνος, ὡς ἀπωλόμην.
 Τροίας δὲ σωθεὶς καπὸ βάρβαρον χθονὸς
 εἰς βάρβαρ' ἑλθὼν φάσγαν· αὐθις ἐμπιστῆ.

ΘΕΟΝ. ἔγωγ' αὖ μοι φέρουσα κ. τ. λ.

In the former instance, four words are spoken after the actor is seen before he begins speaking; in the latter instance, six verses are spoken.

The following examples illustrate, still further, the fact that the English actor has to walk but a short distance before he is in his position:

Additional examples from
Shakespeare

Antony and Cleopatra, Act I., SCENE 3:

Charmian. But here comes Antony.

[ENTER Antony.]

Cleopatra. I am sick and sullen.

Antony. I am sorry, etc.

Act IV., SCENE 14.

Antony. Come, Eros, Eros.

[ENTER Eros.]

Eros. What would my lord, etc.

Act IV., SCENE 14.

Antony. The guard, ho! O dispatch me!

[ENTER Guard.]

First Guard. What's the noise?

Hamlet, Act I., SCENE 1.

Francisco. I think I hear them. Stand, ho! Who's there?

[ENTER Horatio.]

Horatio. Friends to this ground.

Act III., SCENE 4.

Queen. Withdraw. I hear him coming.

[ENTER Hamlet.]

Hamlet. Now, mother, what's the matter?

Act V., SCENE 2.

Horatio. Peace! Who comes here?

[ENTER Osríc.]

Osríc. Your Lordship is etc.

Titus Andronicus, Act III., SCENE 1.

Titus Andronicus. But who comes with our brother Marcus here?

[ENTER Marcus.]

Marcus. Titus, prepare thy aged eyes to weep.

Macbeth, Act I., SCENE 3.

Banquo. Who's here?

[ENTER Ross.]

Ross. The king hath happily received etc.

Act V., SCENE 3.

Macbeth. Sayton!

[ENTER Sayton.]

Sayton. What is your gracious pleasure?

It will be observed that in the instances cited from Shakespeare, in but a single instance does more than one verse elapse between the time when an actor is seen and the time when he begins speaking. In the last instance cited, the actor's name is mentioned, and the next words are spoken by him. The conclusion is justifiable that the larger number of intervening verses in the Greek drama is due to the fact that the Greek actor had a longer distance to walk before reaching the position where he took his part.

The inference to be drawn from the comparison

The tests that have been applied in ascertaining the place to which actors came whose approach was announced yield no evidence concerning the place to which actors came whose approach was not announced; yet if it be admitted that the former class entered the orchestra, it will necessarily follow that the latter class also entered the orchestra.

Actors that entered un-announced

We can believe that the entrance of actors over the parodos was always a pleasing feature of the presentation. The actors were, thus, in full view of the spectators from the moment when they stepped within the parodos, and we can imagine with what eagerness the eyes of the spectators followed the approaching actor, as the spectators wondered what effect on the action the new arrival was to produce; and we can count as among the beautiful scenes in the classic drama the entrance of actors in chariots, as they slowly approached the orchestra by the parodos.¹

The entrance of actors a pleasing feature

¹ See the description in Harrison and Verrall's 'Mythology and Monuments of Ancient Greece', p. 292sq. of the arrival of Agamemnon, as he drew nigh in his chariot over the parodos.

§7. SUMMARY OF CHAPTER III.

The conclusions that have been reached in the present chapter may be briefly summarized:

(1) Certain passages from the plays of the dramatists cited as evidence of a stage, when correctly interpreted, contain no such evidence (p. 70sq.).

Summary of the present chapter

(2) The chorus did not stand on a raised platform (p. 81sq.).

(3) It is probable that no steps led from orchestra to stage (p. 88 sq.).

(4) The evidence of archæological investigations is that the actors stood in the orchestra (p. 90sq.).

(5) The evidence of the extant plays is that the actors stood in the orchestra (p. 94sq.).

(6) The actors when not coming from the palace in the background entered the orchestra by the parodos; the actors that came from the palace entered directly into the orchestra (p. 132sq.).

The evidence against a stage that the extant plays afford may rest chiefly on the following situations:

Scenes in which there is actual personal encounter between chorus and actors, or possibility of such encounter. Cf. Sup. (Æs.), 836, 852, 883, 940f. Persæ, 529. Agam., 1651f. Chœph., 983f. Ajax, 361. Œd. Tyr., 1340f., 1410ff., 1429. Œd. Col., 176f., 491, 834ff. Philoc., 1003, 1174-1205. Hipp., 777. Heracl., 69f., 274, 307f. Sup. (Eurip.), 1160. Herc. Fur., 261f., 527ff. Helena, 1628ff. Iph. in Tau., 468, 1068ff. Orestes, 474. Bacchæ, 1184. Rhesus, 675ff., 730, 877. Cyclops, 210f., 471ff., 590ff. Achar., 280ff., 564f. Knights, 251f., 451ff., 491ff., 922. Wasps, 383, 437ff. Birds, 344, 364f. Thesmophor., 690f., 726ff.

The chief situations discussed in §5 of the present chapter

Chorus enter the palace. Cf. Medea, 820, 866. Cyclops, 82ff. Lysist., 1182ff.

Chorus approach the palace, but do not enter. Cf. Ajax, 354ff. Hipp., 804. Herc. Fur., 747ff., 1031ff. Rhesus, 1ff.

Chorus deliberate whether they will enter the palace, or are invited to do so. Cf. Agam., 1350. Ajax, 329, 986. Electra (Soph.), 1103f. Medea, 1275ff. Hipp., 575ff., 782. Androm.,

817. Hecuba, 1042. Ion, 219ff. Helena, 327ff. Iph. in Tau., 470, 1079.

The position of the chorus is near the palace. Cf. Philoc., 207. Alcestitis, 86f., 100f. Medea, 1293. Ion, 510. Orestes, 136ff., 173ff. Bacchæ, 58ff. Lysistrata, 310ff.

Chorus act as guard. Cf. Ajax, 1182f. Philoc., 150ff. Iph. in Tau., 638. Orestes, 1251ff. Rhesus, 15, 524, 813.

Chorus observe actors closely. Cf. Antigone, 526ff. Philoc., 861. Trachin., 964ff. Herc. Fur., 130ff. Electra (Eurip.), 184f.

Chorus enter orchestra from palace. Cf. Eumen., 140ff. Troades, 176f. Lysistrata, 319, 1239. Eccl., 33ff.

Search scenes, in which the chorus pass over the space usually occupied by the actors. Cf. Eumen., 244ff., 255f. Ajax, 891ff. CEd. Col., 121f. Thesmophor., 597ff., 655ff.

Actors enter orchestra with chorus. Cf. Sup. (Æs.), 1. Chœph., 10ff. Hecuba, 59ff. Plutus, 253ff.

Actors leave by a parodos. Cf. Iph. in Aul., 111ff. Bacchæ, 974ff.

Actors on entering do not see other actors present. Cf. Androm., 881ff. Hecuba, 484ff. Iph. in Tau., 1152ff. Electra (Eurip.), 112ff. Orestes, 356ff., 470ff. Phœnissæ, 301ff. Bacchæ, 215ff. Birds, 1122ff.

Actors enter in chariots. Cf. Persæ, 159(?), 907(?). Agam., 782. Electra (Eurip.), 988. Iph. in Aul., 607.

Actors have contact with spectators. Cf. Peace, 881ff. Frogs, 296ff.

Actors on entering address the chorus, though other actors are present, and would be naturally first addressed. Cf. Persæ, 681ff. Electra (Soph.), 660, 1098. CEd. Tyr., 924. CEd. Col., 728, 1500. Philoctetes addresses his first words to both chorus and actor: cf. Philoc., 219ff.

Libation scenes in which both chorus and actors participate. Cf. Persæ, 623ff. Chœph., 149ff. Iph. in Tau., 159ff., 179ff.

Assembly scenes which were, no doubt, made to resemble real assembly scenes. Cf. Achar., 20f., 42ff., 56, 91, 156, 172. Thesmo., 284ff., 292ff., 312ff., 372ff., 383ff., 443ff. Eccle., 57, 103, 122ff.

The numbers present were at times greater than could find room on a stage. Cf. Septem, 1ff., 30ff. Agam., 906ff. Trial scene in the Eumenides. Trachin., 202f., 299f. Androm., 115, 135, 161. Sup. (Eurip.), 10. A stage in some plays was unsuited to the scene represented: cf. Prom., 2; 31, 55f. Œd. Col., 10, 17, 98. Philoc., 1, 16, 21, 28f., 1262. Cyclops, where the scene is a cave. Birds, 54, 92, 202, 207.

The distegia at times represents a large area. Cf. Agam., 1ff. Orestes, 1573ff. Clouds, 1490ff. Wasps, 143ff. Peace, 223ff.

At the close of many plays, actors and choruses leave the theatre together. Cf. Sup. (Æs.), 980ff. Persæ, 1038ff. Septem, 1068ff. Eumen., 1003ff. Ajax, 1413ff. Antig., 1339ff. Philoc., 1469. Sup. (Eurip.), 1232. Hecuba, 1288ff. Troades, 296f., 1266ff., 1331f. Bacchæ, 1381ff. Rhesus, 986ff. Cyclops, 441f., 701ff. Achar., 1231ff. Clouds, 1510. Wasps, 1535ff. Peace, 1354ff. Birds, 1755ff. Lysis., 1273ff. Frogs, 1524ff. Eccl., 1149ff. Plutus, 1208f.

In many plays there was a sympathy existing between chorus and actors such as would lead us to believe that all were together. Cf. Ion, 748, 857. Iph. in Tau., 63, 143, 1056. Bacchæ, 582ff., 609ff. The chorus are instructed to warmly welcome Agamemnon: cf. Agam., 524; cf. also the conversation between the chorus and Cassandra, vs. 1053-1300, in the same play. Cf. the sympathy of the chorus for Electra, as displayed in the conversation vs. 121-327, of the Electra (Soph.), and, again, in the same play, where the chorus try to comfort Electra, vs. 804-874. Œdipus trusts the chorus, in the Œd. Col., v. 175; he calls them his allies, v. 815. Deianira, in the Trachiniæ, tells the chorus her woes in private, vs. 531ff.: and the chorus in the Persæ dread to speak in the presence of Darius, vs. 694f.

The chorus bow before the king in the Œd. Tyr. Cf. vs. 40f. and 327. They prostrate themselves, in the Phœnissæ. Cf. 291 ff. In the Herc. Fur., when Hercules enters, he finds his children in the orchestra. Cf. 527ff. Dicæopolis, in the Acharnians, brings a block into the orchestra. Cf. 365ff. Polymnestor, in the Hecuba, goes into the orchestra from the tent. Cf. 1070f. In the Alcestis, occurs a funeral procession. Chorus and actor

leave the theatre together, and return together later. Cf. 422 ff., 606ff., 740, 861, 872.

§8. THE MISTAKES OF VITRUVIUS

Assuming, now, that the actors stood in the orchestra, together with the chorus, it remains to see how it was that Vitruvius came to be mistaken, for he says distinctly¹ that the actors stood on the stage, and that the stage had the name *λογεῖον*.² Vitruvius is exact in all his statements; but we must remember that he lived in the first century B. C., and that the only theatre that he could have become acquainted with was the so-called Roman theatre. From the facts that he saw concerning the stage in that theatre, he inferred other facts concerning a stage in the Greek theatre of the fifth century.

The historical facts relating to the theatre, both Greek and Roman, are clear. When tragedy arose from the dithyrambic chorus, and an actor was introduced, this actor stood on a table.³ By Æschylus a second actor was introduced, and a *σκηνὴ* became necessary, that the actors might have a place in which to change their dresses. Before this time, the table had been used, in order to give elevation to the actor; now the cothurnus was invented, which served the purpose that before that time had been served by the table. The assumption that the cothurnus, and other means of artificial dress were used in order to give the actors the appearance of superior beings is not correct, for, if such had been the case, they would not have been used by all the actors alike. They were, in fact, used by nurses, and slaves, and heralds, as well as by heroes. The only object, then, of cothurnus, onkos, flowing robes, and padded bodies was to give to the actors a prominence that would distinguish them from the *cho-reutæ*.

¹ Vitruv., 7, 2; quoted above p. 70.

² For the views of Dr. Kaweran, which are adopted by Dr. Dorpfeld, and are here set forth, cf. Miss Harrison, *Class. Rev.*, May, 1890, p. 274sq. Cf. also Pickard, *Am. Jour. Phil.*, April, 1893, p. 68ff.

³ Poll., IV., 123: ἐλεός δ' ἦν τράπεζα ἀρχαία ἐφ' ἣν πρὸ θέσπιδος εἰς τις ἀναβὰς τοῖς χορευταῖς ἀπεκρίνατο.

During the fifth century, then, actors and chorus stood in the orchestra. There was a *σκηνή* to which the actors retired when they were to change their dresses. The scenery used was variable. It was for each play what the requirements of that play demanded. The position of the *σκηνή* was, naturally, on the side of the orchestra the more remote from the spectators; there, also, was the scenery, and there, also, stood the actors, directly in front of the *σκηνή*.

The positions
of chorus, actors,
scenery and
σκηνή
in the V. century

In Roman times the chorus had disappeared; therefore the whole of the orchestra was not needed in the presentation of the plays. Vitruvius tells us that in the half of the orchestra thus not needed the senators sat. But, if they had sat on the level of the orchestra, the senators in the rear rows could not have seen the actors over the heads of the senators in front of them. Accordingly, it was necessary to either raise the half of the orchestra upon which the actors stood, or to lower the half upon which the senators sat. The latter course was followed. The part of the orchestra that was lowered received the name of *κονίστρα*; the part on which the actors stood was called, and rightly, *λογεῖον*, for it was the place on which the actors spoke.

The lowering
of the orchestra
in Roman times

In support of this view is the fact that in many of the theatres that were altered in Roman times the lowest row of circular seats is on a level with the *λογεῖον*. This is the case at Aizani, Telmessos, Patava, Aspendos, Pergamos, and Assos. If, in these theatres, the semi-circular *κονίστρα* should be filled up to the level of the lowest row of seats, we should have the original orchestra of the fifth century.

The above test
as applied to
certain theatres

The orchestra, then, of the fifth century was divided, in later times, into two parts, the *λογεῖον*, the *κονίστρα*. In view of this fact we understand how it was that the word *ὀρχήστρα* came to be applied to either of these two parts. We understand, also, how it was that the *θυρίκη*, which belonged in the center of the old orchestra, when this latter was divided, was placed in either the *λογεῖον* or the *κονίστρα*. It becomes clear, also, why

The assumption
that the orchestra
was divided makes
clear various facts

in the Roman theatre the audience entered not, as in the Greek theatre, by the parodoi; but by underground passages. The parodoi led to the higher part of the old orchestra; accordingly, the audience could not enter by them; they were reserved for the actors. It may be added, further, that it was entirely appropriate that the part of the orchestra that was occupied by the senators, who were spectators, should be distinct from the part that was occupied by the actors.

Thus, the mistakes of Vitruvius are understood. He saw the Roman stage, and, in its rear, the proscenium columns twelve feet high with a platform on top of them. He assumed, therefore, that in the fifth century also the actors performed on a stage; but he remembered that in the fifth century there was a chorus. Accordingly, he assumed that the actors stood on the roof of the proscenium, and to this roof he gave the name by which the stage of his own day was designated—he called it the *λογεῖον*; while the facts are seen to be that the actors both of the fifth century and of the time of Vitruvius stood on the same spot, that in front of the proscenium.

There has been quoted above¹ a passage from Suidas, which may be taken as a correct description of a Roman theatre of the time of Vitruvius. Suidas mentions first the *σκηνή* which is here called the center door (in the proscenium), and is mentioned first, perhaps, because it was the most prominent object before the eyes of the spectator. On both sides of the *σκηνή* are the *παρυσκήνια*. After these comes the orchestra, which he might have called by its new name of *λογεῖον*. At this place, he says, the actors contend. The next object named after the orchestra is the altar of Dionysus; and, finally, is mentioned the part most remote from the stage, the *κονίστρα*.

The words of the scholiast in the introduction to the Clouds are a further confirmation of the belief that the half of the orchestra of the fifth century which was more remote from the spectators became the *λογεῖον* of the Roman theatre. The words are:

Vitruvius drew his inferences concerning a Greek stage, from the Roman stage

The description of a Roman theatre

The words of the scholiast in the introduction to the Clouds

ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ τῷ νῦν λεγομένῳ λαγείῳ. The words are correctly explained by Isidor, Orig. 18, 43: *pulpitus, qui pulpitus orchestra vocabatur*, and 44: *orchestra autem pulpitus erat*.

CHAPTER I

THE GENESIS AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE CHORUS

CONTENTS

§1. The Divisions of Greek Poetry:	
§2. Singing by Individuals in Homer:	PAGE
The Song of Calypso	14
The Song of Circe	14
The Song of Achilles	14
Character of these songs	14
§3. Early Meanings of the Word <i>χορός</i> :	
<i>χορός</i> signifying place	15
<i>χορός</i> where the idea of dancing is prominent	15
Adornment at the dance	15
<i>χορός</i> transferred to the dancer	15
§4. Choral Exercises in Homer and in Hesiod:	
THE PÆAN: Sung when in Homer	16
The Pæan in Iliad I	16
The Pæan in Iliad XXII	16
No dancing in the Homeric Pæan	16
The Pæan in later times	16
Metrical form of the Homeric Pæan	16
THE THRENOS: Defined	17
Early cultivation of the Threnos	17
The Linus-song:	17
The three characters of Linus	17
An extant Linus-song	17
Connected with the death of the seasons	17
Hesiod says concerning the Linus-song	17
The Linus-song in Homer	18
Characteristics of	18
The Threnos in the Iliad	18
Characteristics of	18
The Threnos in the Odyssey	19
Metrical form of the Threnos	19
Later history of the Threnos	19
THE HYMENÆUS: The Hymenæus in the Iliad	19
The Hymenæus in Hesiod	19
The Hymenæus in later writers	19
THE HYPORCHEME: The Hyporcheme in the Iliad	20
The Hyporcheme in the Hymn to Apollo	20
The Hyporcheme in the Odyssey	20
The Hyporcheme defined	20
Popularity of the Hyporcheme	20
Its antiquity	20
Its chief characteristics	21
PARTHENA IN HOMER	21
The instance in the Iliad	21
RESPONSIVE SINGING IN THE ILIAD	21
SUMMARY OF CHORAL FORMS IN HOMER AND IN HESIOD	21

§5. The Divisions of Lyric Poetry:	PAGE
Lyric poetry includes only melic	22
The elegiac and the iambic called $\varepsilon\pi\eta$	22
Melic poetry divided into two schools	22
The distinctions between them	22
§6. The Cultivation of Greek Music:	
The tetrachord	23
Terpander	23
Olympus	23
Thaletas	23
§7. Choral Exercises of the Æolic School of Poets:	
SAPPHO: Songs for a single voice	24
Songs for choruses	24
ANACREON: His character	24
His songs for choruses	24
ALCÆUS: No choral poetry	24
§8. Choral Exercises of the Doric School of Poets:	
Further development of the chorus	25
THE STROPHE: In choral poetry	25
Its origin	25
In elegiac poetry	25
The melic; the Doric	25
Melic strophe described	25
The Doric strophe described	25
The epode	25
Origin of anti-strophic recital	25
ALCMAN: His contemporaries	26
His predecessors	26
His excellence	26
He celebrated secular occasions	26
His parthenia	26
Features of his choruses	26
His other compositions for choruses	27
His metres	27
Remaining choral poets not at Sparta	27
STESICHORUS: His originality	27
Size of his chorus	27
The epode	27
His epico-lyric hymns	27
IBYCUS: He belongs to two schools	28
His love songs	28
These produced on what occasions	28
Remaining masters of choral poetry:	28
Add no new elements	28
The hymn of Stesichorus	28
Lyric poets compose for pay	29
Bacchylides	29
Pindar	29
Timocreon	29
§9. The Worship of Dionysus:	
A new kind of poetry needed	29
Why the dithyramb was popular	30

§9. The Worship of Dionysus (Concluded):	
Why the dithyramb was capable of dramatic development:	30
(1) Opportunities for forming plots	30
(2) Opportunities for assuming characters	31
§10. The Dithyramb of Arion:	
Cultivated at Corinth	32
Arion's chorus	32
The <i>ἐξῆρος</i>	32
The musical accompaniment	32
The size of the chorus	33
§11. The Development of Tragedy from the Dithyramb:	
The extension of the part of the <i>ἐξῆρος</i>	33
The extension of subjects	33
The dithyramb at Athens becomes tragedy	34
The final step the addition of the actor	34
§12. The Further Development of Tragedy:	
The chorus of Thespis	34
The chorus of Phrynichus	34
The chorus of Chœrilus	35
Pratinas and the satyr-drama	35
Characteristics of the satyr-drama	35
ÆSCHYLUS: Shortened the choral odes	36
Added a second actor	36
SOPHOCLES: Added a third actor	36
Shortened the choral odes	36
EURIPIDES: Shortened the choral odes	36
Decline of the chorus as a living element	36
The ideal chorus	37
§13. The Subsequent Cultivation of the Dithyramb, and of Lyric Poetry:	
The dithyramb continued in Doric states	37
The 'Attic' dithyramb	37
The decline of lyric poetry	38

CHAPTER II

THE EXTERNAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHORUS

CONTENTS

§1 The Number of the Choreutæ:	PAGE
The tragic chorus of fifteen: the comic chorus of twenty-four	40
Sophocles the first to use a tragic chorus of fifteen	40
The tragic chorus of fourteen	41
The tragic chorus of fifty	41
Was the innovation of Sophocles adopted by Æschylus?	42
The tragic chorus of forty-eight	43
The changes in the size of the chorus	44
§2 The Position of the Choreutæ:	
At its entrance the chorus presented its left side to the spectators	45
The entrance sometimes by the eastern parodos	45
The parts of the chorus	46
The entrance called <i>κατὰ στοιίχους, κατὰ ζυγά</i>	46
Diagram of a chorus entering <i>κατὰ στοιίχους</i>	46
Diagram of a chorus entering <i>κατὰ ζυγά</i>	47
The <i>κατὰ στοιίχους</i> formation common	47
Position of the chorus after reaching the orchestra	47
Position of the left file when the chorus entered by the eastern parodos	48
Position of the chorus during the dialogue, and during the stasima	49
Exit of the chorus at the close of, and during the play	49
Lines in the orchestra	50
<i>Πρυμνίον; δευρία</i>	50
Position of the coryphæus in a chorus of fifteen	51
Position of the coryphæus in a chorus of twelve	51
§3 The names of the Choreutæ:	
Their names derived from their positions	52
The titles of the coryphæus	53
The choregus as coryphæus	53
The poet as trainer; the choregus, the <i>ὑποδιδάσκαλος</i> , as coryphæus	53
The skill of the choreutæ varied in different files	54
§4 A Secondary Chorus.	
<i>Παραχορήγημα; παρασκήνιον</i>	54
Passages in which occurs the word <i>παραχορήγημα</i>	55
Examples of <i>παραχορήγηματα</i> , and of <i>παρασκήνια</i>	55
§5 The Choregus:	
The appointment of the choregus	55
The duties of the choregus	57
The expenses of the choregus	57
Minor details concerning the choregus	58
The decline of the choregia	59

§6. The Delivery of the Choral Parts:

The parodoi	60
The stasima	61
Shorter songs of the whole chorus	62
Words spoken by the coryphæus	62
Commoi	63
The delivery of the words in certain doubtful instances	63
The parabasis	64

§7 The Costume of the Choreutæ:

The costume of the choreutæ in tragedy	65
The costume of the choreutæ in comedy	65
The costume of the choreutæ in the satyric drama	66

CHAPTER III

THE STAGE

CONTENTS

§1 Alleged Evidence in Favor of the Stage:

The statements of Vitruvius and Pollux concerning the Greek stage	70
Five passages from Aristophanes claimed as evidence of a stage	71
The scholium on the Knights	72
The explanation of Suidas	72
The interpretation of the two scholia	72
<i>ἀναβαίνειν</i> in the passage from the Knights has really no force	73
<i>καταβαίνειν</i> in the fourth passage is used metaphorically	73
<i>ἀνα-κατα-βαίνειν</i> in other writers	73
The commands in the five passages are to actors who have just entered	73
The five passages furnish no evidence of a stage	74
A passage in the Birds claimed to supply evidence of a stage	74
A passage in the Lysistrata claimed to supply evidence of a stage	74
A passage in the Supplices (Æs.) claimed to supply evidence of a stage	75
A passage in the Peace claimed to supply evidence of a stage	75
Passages in which it is claimed that the chorus withdrew close to the wall of the stage:	76
(1) Choephoroi, 872ff.	77
(2) Hercules Furens, 1081ff.	77
(3) * Ecclesiazusæ, 496ff.	77
(4) Acharnians, 239f.	78
The entrance of the chorus into the palace prevented	79
The passage in Plato's Symposium	80
The stone border would not have interfered with free action	80
No difficulty in distinguishing actors from chorus, if all were in the orchestra together	80
Need of a shallow stage claimed	80

§2 The Thymele:

The difficulties presented by a high stage avoided by assuming a platform for the chorus	81
A passage quoted by Wieseler and Hermann as evidence of a platform	82
The arguments drawn from this passage	82
Passages quoted by Muller as showing evidence of a platform	82
None of these passages supply evidence of a platform	84
Positive evidence against the existence of a platform:	84
(1) It would have interfered with the dithyrambic contests	84
(2) No traces of such a platform remain	84
(3) The circle on the floor of the orchestra at Epidaurus	84

§2 The Thymele: (Concluded.)

(4) The ornamented columns of the proscenium . . .	84
(5) The exit of the chorus at the close of many plays . . .	85
(6) The view of the occupants of the front thronoi . . .	85
The occupants of the front thronoi . . .	86
(7) The steps at Eretria, and elsewhere . . .	87
(8) A low stage would have been preferred to a high stage and a platform . . .	87

§3 The Steps; the Distegia:

If there was passing between orchestra and stage, steps were needed . . .	88
No traces of such steps remain . . .	88
Steps would have prevented free action of the chorus . . .	88
The vase-paintings in Magna Græcia . . .	89
The depth of the distegia . . .	89
Had the actors stood on a stage, many of the spectators would have had but a poor view of them. . .	90

§4 Archaeological Investigations:

Three sources of information . . .	90
The ancient orchestra; other ruins . . .	91
The stage buildings and cavae belong to the same period of construction . . .	92
The proscenium more recent than the stage buildings . . .	93
The columns of the proscenium; the doors . . .	93
No fixed type of stage-buildings in early times . . .	93

§5 Evidence Against a Stage from the Extant Plays:

Æschylus:

Supplikes . . .	94
Persæ . . .	95
Seven against Thebes . . .	97
Prometheus Vinctus . . .	97
Agamemnon . . .	99
Cæphori . . .	100
Eumenides . . .	100

Sophocles:

Ajax . . .	101
Antigone . . .	103
Electra . . .	103
Œdipus Tyrannus . . .	104
Œdipus Coloneus . . .	105
Philoctetes . . .	106
Trachiniæ . . .	107

Euripides:

Alcestis . . .	108
Medea . . .	109
Hippolytus . . .	109
Andromache . . .	110
Heracleidæ . . .	111
Supplikes . . .	111
Hecuba . . .	112
Hercules Furens . . .	113
Ion . . .	114
Troades . . .	115
Helena . . .	115
Iphigenia in Taurus . . .	116

§5 Evidence against a stage from the Extant Plays: (Concluded.)

Euripides: (Concluded.)

Electra	117
Orestes	117
Phœnissæ	119
Iphigenia in Aulis	119
Bacchæ	120
Rhesus	121
Cyclops	122

Aristophanes:

Acharnians	123
Knights	124
Clouds	125
Wasps	125
Peace	126
Birds	127
Lysistrata	128
Thesmophoriazusæ	129
Frogs	130
Ecclesiazusæ	131
Plutus	131

§6 Evidence Against a Stage from Certain Facts Connected with the Entrance of Actors and of Choruses:

All actors entered into the orchestra either by a parodos, or directly from the palace in the background	132
Four aspects of the entrance considered:	132
(1) Instances where choruses announce in-coming actors	132
Average number of verses spoken while actor is approaching	133
The time required for walking half way across the stage	133
Actors actually seen	133
Actors probably not just about to enter on the stage from door in side-wing when first seen by the choruses	133
Conversations not carried on in the presence of the in-coming actors	134
The actor when first seen was without the stage-buildings	135
The actor when first seen was in the parodos, and approaching the orchestra	135
This view explains various facts	135
(2) Instances where actors announce in-coming actors	136
This class resembles the preceding class	136
Actors not about to enter on the stage when first seen	136
Actors may have been waiting in paraskenion	137
Actors fail to observe other actors; they address chorus first	137
Choruses oftener than actors announce approach of in-coming actors	137
(3) Instances where actors announce in-coming choruses	137
An added element in this class	137
The entrance of the chorus in the Phœnissæ	138
The entrance of the chorus in the Œd. Col	138
Antigone probably was not looking directly into the parodos from the stage	139

§6 Evidence against a Stage from Certain Facts Connected with the Entrance of Actors and of Choruses: (Concluded.)

(3) Instances where actors announce in-coming choruses: (Concluded):	
In this class the actor probably in the orchestra	139
(4) Instances where actors come from the palace	139
If the actor came on the stage he was in his position soon after being seen	139
The actor in this class was actually seen approaching	140
The time needed for him to reach his position, if this was on the stage	140
A longer time consumed if he entered into the orchestra	140
In a few instances actors are present soon after being seen	140
In a few instances an unusually long time is consumed	141
In the plays of Shakespeare actors are present soon after being seen	141
A comparison of Shakespeare with the Greek dramatists shows that in the former the actors had a shorter distance to pass over	141
Titus Andronicus—Alceste	141
Titus Andronicus—Hippolytus	142
Antony and Cleopatra—Helena	142
Additional examples from Shakespeare	143
The inference to be drawn from the comparison	144
Actors that entered un-announced	144
The entrance of actors a pleasing feature	144
§7 Summary of Chapter III.	145
§8 The Mistakes of Vitruvius:	
Vitruvius states that the actors stood on a stage	148
Some historical facts relating to the theatre	148
The positions of chorus, actors, scenery and <i>σζζγν</i> in the V. century	149
The lowering of orchestra in Roman times	149
The above test as applied to certain theatres	149
The assumption that the orchestra was divided makes clear various facts	149
Vitruvius drew his inferences concerning a Greek stage from the Roman stage	150
The description of a Roman theatre	150
The words of the scholiast in the introduction to the Clouds	150